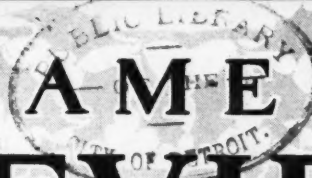


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NOV 29 1912



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS



EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

DECEMBER, 1912 (1)

- Comment on Election Results**
Militant Democracy in the Balkans
Shall Uncle Sam Protect the Birds?
The Captain of Industry
Votes for Three Million Women
The New Woman in the Mohammedan World
How France Chooses a President

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, NEW YORK

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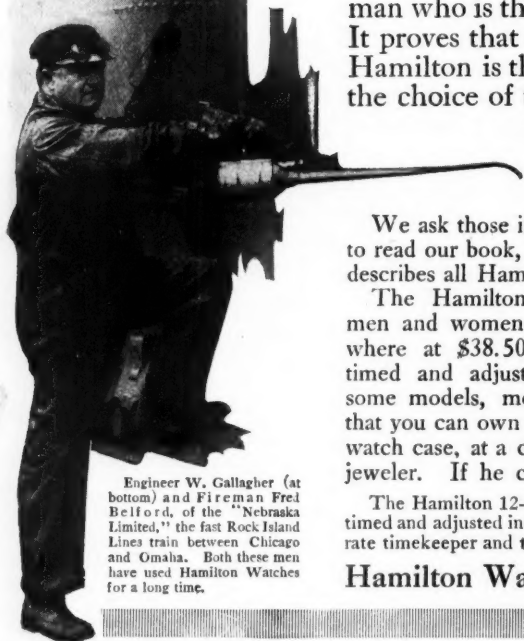
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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1912

The St. Sophia Mosque.....	Frontispiece	General Savov, Commander of the Bulgarian Forces (Portrait).....	686
The Progress of the World—			
Our 531 Presidential Electors.....	643	The Militant Democracy of the Balkans	687
What They Will Do in January.....	643	By ALBERT SONNICHSEN	
The Case of a Candidate's Illness or Death.....	643	France's Way of Choosing a President...	693
Possible Importance of Electors.....	645	By ANDRÉ TRIDON	
A System that Trains Many Men.....	645	With portraits	
Parties and Their Leaders.....	646	Eucken, Germany's Inspired Idealistic Philosopher	698
Gov. Wilson's Belief in Party Rule.....	646	By THOMAS SELTZER	
The Swinging Pendulum of Progress.....	646	Votes for Three Million Women	700
Republicanism Four Years Ago.....	648	By IDA HUSTED HARPER	
The Everlasting Tariff Issue.....	648	With map and portraits	
Reciprocity and Its Effects.....	649	Shall Uncle Sam Protect the Birds?	705
The Vetoes in Tariff Bills.....	649	By GEORGE GLADDEN	
The Leader of Conservative Politics.....	650	With maps and other illustrations	
The Split in a Great Party.....	651	The New Woman in the Mohammedan World	716
The Republican Future.....	652	By SAINT NIHAL SINGH	
Is the Progressive Party Permanent?.....	652	With portraits and other illustrations	
Progressives in Congress.....	652	The Captain of Industry	721
States that Wilson Lost.....	653	By HOLLAND THOMPSON	
Results in Illinois.....	653	Leading Articles of the Month—	
In New York, Ohio and Indiana.....	654	Why the Panama Canal Should Be Fortified..	729
In Michigan and Wisconsin.....	655	Smoking and Football Players.....	730
Cummins and His State.....	656	Will Christianity Be the World-Religion?....	731
Minnesota-Missouri.....	656	How Australia Cares for the Children.....	733
On the Pacific Coast.....	656	The Contemporary Theatre in China.....	734
The Dakotas and Montana.....	657	Altruism Among Animals.....	735
Party Conditions in New England.....	657	Austria and the Albanian Question.....	737
In the Old Middle States.....	658	Feminism's New Prophetess.....	739
The "Solid South" Unbroken.....	658	Norman Angell and His Gospel of Peace.....	741
Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado.....	660	The Interesting Personality of Gustav Frenssen	742
Wilson in High Favor.....	660	Joseph Pennell on Whistler.....	744
A Special Tariff Session.....	661	The Poetry of Modern America.....	745
The Present Work of Congress.....	661	Ontario—An Object Lesson in Development	746
Mr. Bryce as American Observer.....	662	Turkish Opinion on the European Crisis.....	748
End of the Diaz Revolt in Mexico.....	663	With portraits and other illustrations	
The Presidential Election in Cuba.....	663	The New Books	749
British Home Affairs.....	664	With portraits and other illustrations	
Choosing the Fourth Russian Duma.....	664	Picture Books in Color	759
The Five Weeks' War in the Balkans.....	666	By ERNEST KNAUFFT	
Turkey Sues for Peace.....	668	With illustrations	
A Holy War and Its Effects.....	668	Financial News for the Investor	766
The European Question.....	668		
The Turk To Go at Last.....	669		
Some Causes of the War.....	671		
Why the Turk Lost.....	672		
The Work of Canalejas.....	673		
Belgium Fearing for Her Neutrality.....	673		
China's Vexed Question of Finance.....	674		
With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations			
Record of Current Events	675		
With map and portraits			
Cartoons of the Month	680		

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ST. SOPHIA, THE CENTER OF CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM INTEREST IN CONSTANTINOPLE

(One of the most famous churches in Europe, the celebrated San Sofia (to give it the Moslem name) in the midst of the Mohammedan quarter in the heart of Constantinople, is the holy ground of the Moslem, and has been the magnet which has drawn every Christian invader since the Turks entered Europe. On May 29, 1453, the triumphant Sultan Mohammed II rode on horseback into the Christian church of St. Sophia and converted it into a Mohammedan mosque. San Sofia was built in the sixth century by Justinian the Great. It is one of the most remarkable monuments of the genius of Christianity both from an architectural and artistic point of view. For nine hundred years it was the glory of Christendom. Since its capture by the Turks it has been one of the glories of Islam. It will be the supreme object to any triumphant Christian army entering Constantinople, and its reconversion to a Christian church would stand in the eyes of millions of pious Catholics of both rituals as a symbol of the final triumph of the Cross over the Crescent)

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLVI

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1912

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Our 531
Presidential
Electors*

Election Day fell upon November 5, that being the first Tuesday after the first Monday in the eleventh month of the quadrennial year, appointed by law for the choice throughout the United States of Presidential electors. It was ordained that 531 good and true citizens should be chosen, and that to these, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, there should be intrusted the high and serious task of naming a President. It was supposed by the framers of the Constitution that the Presidential electors would act by virtue of their own superior knowledge and judgment. It came to pass in due time, however, that parties were formed; and in their struggle to secure control of the government each party found it necessary to select, well in advance, a candidate for the nation's highest office. It followed, as a matter of course, that the candidates for membership in the so-called Electoral College were put in the field by their respective parties as avowed supporters of particular nominees for President and Vice-President.

*What They
Will Do in
January*

The position of Presidential elector remains one of dignity and honor, but our established custom and tradition have taken away from it the full discretion that belongs to it in the strict terms of law. The 531 electors, (comprising one woman each in Washington, California, and Colorado, and 528 men) will meet in their respective States and give their votes on the second Monday in January, which this year falls on the 13th of that month. On the second Wednesday in February—which, as it happens, will be Lincoln's Birthday,—Congress will open and count the electoral votes; and not until then shall we know officially who is to be the next President of the United States. The 531 electors have a legal

right to vote next month for any citizen born in this country, of requisite age, and not otherwise disqualified. While these are matters of necessary and general knowledge, it is difficult for many people to carry them in their memories, and it is therefore convenient to have them re-stated. Furthermore, these facts have an important bearing upon contingencies that thoughtful public men do not ignore or forget. We all know that a very large majority of the Presidential electors this year belong to the Democratic party and are openly pledged to vote for the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, to fill the office of President for the four-year term beginning on March 4. They are also openly pledged, at the same time, to vote for Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for the office of Vice-President.

*The Case of a
Candidate's
Illness or Death*

The entire country wishes for both of these distinguished gentlemen the blessings of long life and sound health. But these desirable things, although it is reasonable to hope for them and to expect them, are not to be guaranteed. During the month of October, and within a few days of the election, death claimed one of the six candidates heading the three leading tickets, while another barely escaped death at the hands of an assassin. The mind shrinks from giving lodgment to the thought that sudden death might overtake Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall. Yet Vice-President Sherman actually passed away in October while an active candidate for reelection, and the former President, Mr. Roosevelt, escaped death as by a miracle only about three weeks before Election Day. Mr. Sherman's lamented death, on October 30, came within a week of Election Day, and the time intervening was too short for the selection of a candidate to take his place. If the



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THE LATE JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN, VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

(The Vice-President died at his home in Utica, N. Y., on October 30. He had been suffering for some time from Bright's disease in an advanced stage. Mr. Sherman had served many years in the House of Representatives, was a high authority as a parliamentarian, and in his capacity as Vice-President had presided over the Senate with a fidelity and fairness that all members of that body commended. His personal qualities won him many life-long friends. He was a leading member of the regular Republican organization of his State and one of the foremost of the party's supporters at Washington)

Taft ticket had carried the country, a vacancy in the second place would have become a matter of great public importance.

*Filling the
Place of
Mr. Sherman*

In its closing hours the Republican convention at Chicago in June had passed a resolution authorizing the National Committee to fill a vacancy on the ticket that might occur by reason of the death or disability of Mr. Taft or Mr. Sherman. This was done in such a way that it attracted no attention at the time; yet it was due undoubtedly to the fact that the managers of the convention were well aware that Mr. Sherman's death was expected in the near future. If the National Committee had selected a substitute for Mr.

Sherman before Election Day, there would have been general acquiescence among members of the Republican party; and this would probably have been true of a selection made at some date after election but well in advance of the meeting of the electors in January. Nevertheless, the electors themselves would have been consulted, and their views, rather than the wishes of the National Committee, would probably have governed the situation. As it happens, the number of Taft electors actually chosen is so small that no one cares about their vote for a Vice-President and so it is likely enough that the Vermont and Utah electors will exercise their full Constitutional prerogative and vote as they may individually please.

Possible
Importance
of Electors

In case, however, of the death of Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall, the situation would become exceedingly grave and important. Excluding California (where the official count showed an almost equal division between Wilson and Roosevelt with final result uncertain as this was written), the Democratic electors number 429 out of the total 531. These electors must in any case vote for a President on the appointed day in January. If the party's accepted candidate survives, the entire 429 will undoubtedly cast their votes for him. If he should not survive, it is probable that the national convention would reassemble at Baltimore to choose his successor. But the 429 electors who had been pledged to vote for Governor Wilson could not be expected to act merely as dummies, and would have to be consulted. Furthermore, if anything serious should happen to Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall at a very short time before the January date, it might be necessary for the Electoral College to take upon itself the full authority that is legally vested in it. Under those circumstances the forty-five Democratic electors of the State of New York might not favor a new candidate of Governor Wilson's progressive type. Furthermore, in case the 429 Democratic electors were not in agreement, the conditions might seem to require that the eight Taft electors and the ninety Roosevelt electors should make some effective use of their votes, rather than to cast them in a purely formal way for the defeated candidates. In case of Governor Marshall's death, similar questions would arise, though with less acute public interest.



NOTICE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF EVICTION FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee)



MRS. HELEN B. SCOTT, OF TACOMA, WASH.

(Chosen on the Progressive ticket for Presidential elector.

Mrs. Scott is one of the three women chosen this year to an office never before held by members of their sex)

A System
that Trains
Many Men

These are not merely matters of speculation. Our system is more complicated than it ought to be. Yet the machinery is not unworkable, and our fate as a nation is not dependent upon the survival of any one man nor any ten thousand men. In that regard we are more fortunate than most other countries, where a less complicated mechanism of government has advantages but has the defect of failing to train a large number of men. Thus, in England, the national Parliament (which also includes the cabinet and the larger ministerial body) furnishes the only opportunity for training in public life excepting the municipal councils and the new county councils. In this country, on the other hand, we train executives in the governorships and other State offices of forty-eight commonwealths, and we train lawmakers in State legislatures that have in the aggregate, at any given moment, fully seven thousand members. In England they have the advantage of a system which takes men of the type of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, or William Howard Taft, and keeps them continuously in responsible public life, whether as members of the party in power or as almost equally influential figures on the front opposition bench.



DICTATING HIS CABINET APPOINTMENTS
MISS DEMOCRACY: "When you are ready, Mr. Wilson"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

Parties
and Their
Leaders

The English system gives higher training in statesmanship to a select few; and it enables the country to avail itself more continuously of the services of well-known and capable leaders. But the American system is constantly bringing forward a vastly larger number of adaptable and forcible men who are capable of filling public positions. At the present time, British statesmen are engaged in a struggle of intense bitterness over the Irish Home Rule bill that is pending in Parliament. It is freely boasted in England by the Conservatives,—though they may be quite mistaken,—that the present Liberal government, with its support of Laborites and Irish Nationalists, cannot survive very long, and that the Tories—or Unionists, as they call themselves—will soon be in power again. If this should come about, the change would involve no great surprises as respects either men or policies. The present well-known Conservative leaders would take the reins. The general Parliamentary election, as the result of which the change would come about, must naturally bring forward some new men. But these would not be prominent until they had served for a good while in the House of Commons. Almost any intelligent politician or party editor in England can guess who would be the leading members of the cabinet in case Mr. Balfour or Mr. Bonar Law should be made Prime Minister. But we in this country, on the 4th of March, are to have a new executive government, headed by an entirely new leader, President Woodrow Wilson. And there is no politician or editor in the United States who can possibly make an intelligent guess as to the personnel of Mr. Wilson's cabinet.

Gov. Wilson's
Belief in
Party Rule

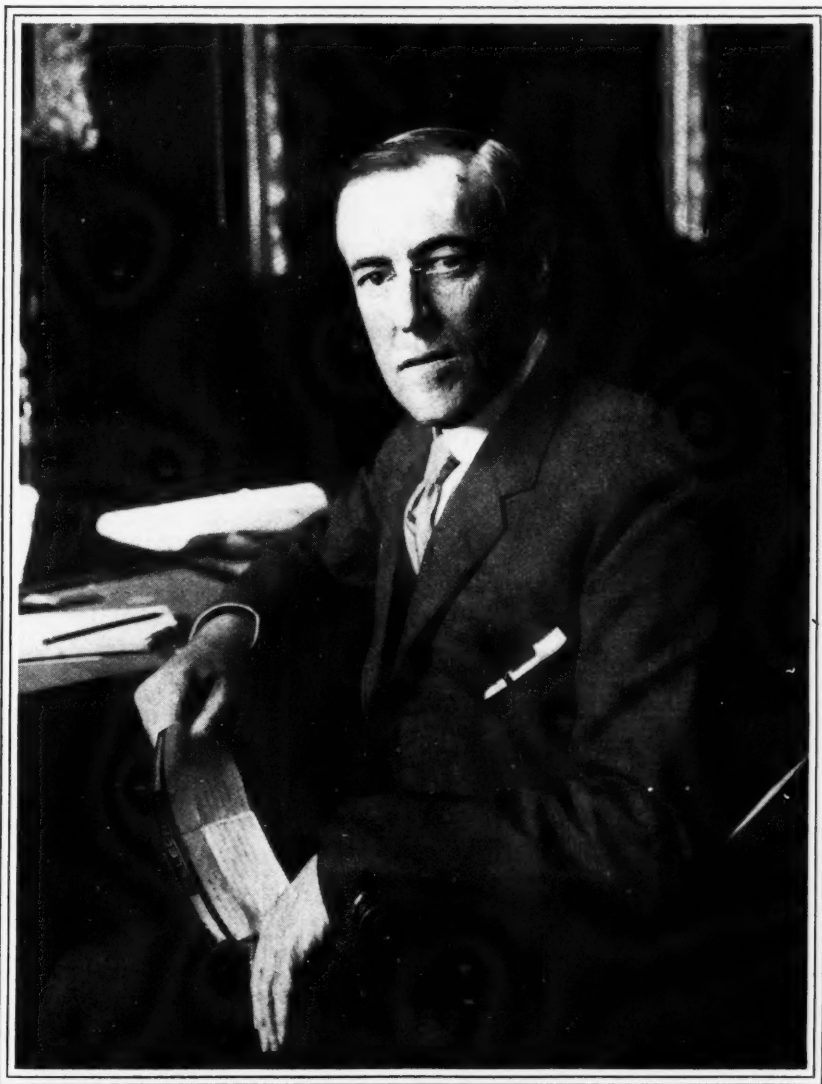
Mr. Taft drew his cabinet advisers, in large part, from private life. If we mistake not, President Wilson has a different theory. He has a political mind of breadth and tolerance, and he is free from the kind of partisanship that means mere prejudice or narrowness. He might even support the thesis that at some time, with a different sort of arrangement for organizing the voters, we could get along without the present system of great parties. But since, in point of fact, we have been relying upon the party system, it is doubtless Governor Wilson's idea that parties as such should assume responsibility and be held to strict account by the country, while subjected to free and unsparing, though legitimate, criticism by the party or parties in opposition. And he will form a party cabinet. While our system does not permit that precisely balanced game of party government that Woodrow Wilson so much appreciated in his earlier days, as he studied the English system, it is true that we also can continue to use parties as responsible instruments of government, and either vote them up or vote them down, as they win or lose public confidence. Though the party pendulum swings less freely here than in England, there is such a movement; and it is more powerful than any one leader or any group of men, however strong may be their hold upon the affection or confidence of the country.

The Swinging
Pendulum of
Parties

We have been witnessing in this country,—somewhat as in England and elsewhere in the world where public opinion rules through representative government,—two tendencies working



THE PRESIDENT-ELECT GETTING READY FOR THE JOB
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



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HON. WOODROW WILSON, WHO WILL SUCCEED MR. TAFT AS PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

at the same time. One is the tendency to change the party in power; whereby conservatives are placed where they must accept and promote the new things that mark the growth of civilization. Another movement, regardless of the oscillation of the party pendulum, is the transformation that goes on within the parties themselves. Thus the present Tories in England are not only far in advance of the old-time Whigs, but they are fully abreast of the Liberals of a generation ago. As for the present-day Liberal party, it has become Radical; so that its accepted doctrines have outstripped the programs of the extreme radical wing of the party that were accounted dangerous and socialistic only twenty-five years ago. In this country these two simultaneous movements have been almost equally marked and impressive during the political year that is now closing. We have been inducting the opposition party into power, and we have also been modernizing the parties themselves by revolution in one case and evolution in the other.

*Republicanism
Four Years
Ago*

First let us consider the swing of the party pendulum. The Republican party (speaking of the national government) has been in full power for sixteen years, excepting only as modified by the election of a Democratic House of Representatives in 1910. When the party received another vote of confidence in 1908, with Mr. Taft's triumphant election over Mr. Bryan and the choice of a strong Republican Congress, the party seemed to have ahead of it a long and prosperous career. To control the Republican party seemed to be synonymous with controlling the country and exercising the most potent political force in the world. So elated were some of the beneficiaries of that victory of 1908 that they forgot the very nature and purpose of a party. They took the future for granted, and assumed that the party ship would float triumphantly, no matter who might be at the helm, or what course might be taken. And so their one thought was to control the ship as if it were their own private yacht. There were two tendencies, however, within the party, and these had been apparent during Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency. The so-called "bosses" and State machines of the party lacked the confidence of the country; but the rank and file of the party voters were progressive and supported Mr. Roosevelt, while Mr. Taft in his turn had their hopeful indorsement.

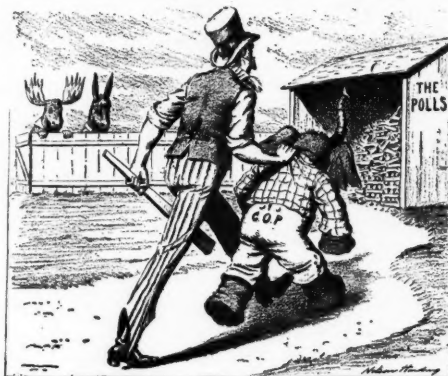
*The Everlasting
Tariff
Issue*

There is ample evidence that Mr. Roosevelt and many other Republican leaders would have been glad to revise the Dingley tariff before 1909. But public opinion in the general business community was not ready for tariff agitation and preferred to wait until after the Presidential election. Meanwhile, the Republican party, in its platform and on the stump, had pledged itself to an overhauling and downward revision of the tariff and to general improvement of the business policies of the Government. Mr. Taft had advocated these views, and it was expected that he would be able to have them carried into effect. The tariff session of Congress in the spring of 1909, which gave us the Payne-Aldrich act, failed to meet what were regarded as the promises of the Republican party. The Senators who had most valiantly supported Mr. Taft's nomination and election, and who belonged to the Progressive wing of the party, could not accept the Payne-Aldrich bill and voted against it. Mr. Taft had the opportunity to stand with these men and to uphold his own previous record and utter-

ances. He was in the valley of decision. He wished to control the Republican party, and to make sure of his own renomination in 1912. He surprised the entire country by becoming the champion of the so-called "reactionary" or "stand-pat" wing of the party; and he went so far as to endeavor to read out of the party those prominent Senators who had opposed the Payne-Aldrich bill, and to openly withhold from them the ordinary "patronage" that other Republican Senators were accorded by him in their own States. What had been a decisive tendency in the party became a developed situation. The Progressive Senators acted as a separate group, had a caucus of their own, and became, in the European sense of the word, a distinct parliamentary "party." It seems not merely mistaken terminology for Mr. LaFollette, under these circumstances, to call himself a Republican, but it turns all recent political history topsy-turvy, and makes it absurd, like a chapter of "Alice in Wonderland."

*Machine
versus
Sentiment*

To cool observers, trained in the study of public opinion, it was plain that Mr. Taft, in an English statesman's famous phrase, "had bet on the wrong horse." His natural affiliation was with the Progressive wing of the party. But it was easy to fall back upon the seemingly invincible support of the leaders who controlled the machinery of both houses of Congress, and the State organizations that prospered and thrived upon their relations with large corporations and tariff-protected industries. The result was logical and inevitable. The country in 1910 elected a Democratic Congress by a tremendous majority. It elected Democratic legislatures and Gov-



TO THE WOODSHED

UNCLE SAM: "I dunno about them other fellows, but this one's in for a lickin'!"

From the *Eagle*, November 4 (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

ernors. It condemned in unmistakable terms the Republican administration and the dominant Republican leadership of both houses of Congress.

*Newspapers
to the
Rescue*

Then came the attempt to save a lost situation. The newspapers, regardless of party, were quite generally in line with prevailing public opinion. But a group of very powerful newspapers hated the Payne-Aldrich bill chiefly for the practical reason that it had failed to put on the free list the wood pulp and the plain white paper that they had long regarded as subject to monopoly control in the United States by reason of the high tariff. In our opinion, they were quite right in feeling that the Payne-Aldrich bill ought to have given them the desired relief. Canada was the one source from which they could obtain their supplies in competition with our American monopoly. It is not strange that these large newspapers should have fostered the scheme of reciprocity with Canada, and that Section 2, which gave them what they wanted, became an object of extreme urgency. It is a matter of record how Mr. Taft and the newspapers succeeded in putting the reciprocity bill through the House against Speaker Cannon's protest. But the measure failed to pass the Senate in the closing hours

of the session. Then came Mr. Taft's call for an extra session of the new Democratic Congress. This was in March, 1911. There was no member of either party, in either house of Congress, who desired or favored an extra session. The protest against it was urgent and intense. But a group of newspapers were eager for it, and the President used his official prerogative and summoned Congress against its wishes.

*Reciprocity
and Its
Effects*

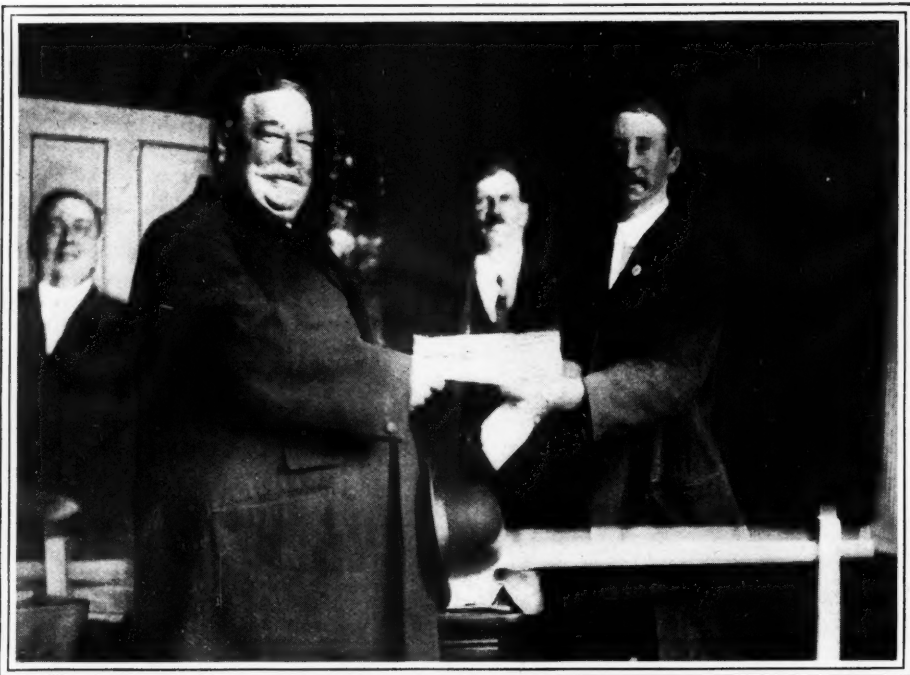
The Reciprocity bill was passed under peculiar conditions. The Democrats in both houses supported it in a spirit of hilarity, without even reading it, on the theory that it was a move in the general direction of breaking down the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Republican friends of Mr. Taft in the Senate were constrained to support the bill against their own judgments. And so the measure was passed. None of these influential newspapers, so far as we are aware, have ever clearly informed their readers that Section 2 of the Reciprocity bill was in point of fact not reciprocity at all but a bit of straight legislation. It was a tariff bill, pure and simple, so phrased that, when the great reciprocity measure had been signed by the President, the Payne-Aldrich paper-and-pulp schedule had been changed and the newspapers had received what they were working for. When the Government of Canada subsequently repudiated the reciprocity treaty, all provisions were dead excepting Section 2. From the standpoint of those most interested, the object of the Reciprocity bill and of the extra session of Congress had been successful. Reciprocity, so called, had been merely a stalking horse. The people of the United States, without ever knowing it, had given the newspapers their free paper and pulp; and they have it to this day. So far as we are concerned, we have always believed that they deserved their free paper and pulp, and we are glad they have it. But it ought to have been obtained by an open, direct Democratic tariff bill revising the paper-and-pulp schedule; and this should have been the first in the Underwood series.

*The Vetoes
of Tariff
Bills*

When the Democrats passed the bill comprising the so-called Farmers' Free List, and when the Progressive Senators joined in sending this measure to the President, Mr. Taft vetoed it. Then followed the Underwood revision of "Schedule K," which was intended to give the people of the country cheaper clothing. This



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS
From the *Star* (Montreal)



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PRESIDENT TAFT CASTING HIS VOTE FOR THE STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN TICKET AT
HIS HOME CITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO

was not a perfect bill, but it was a vast improvement upon the Payne-Aldrich schedule and it ought to have become a law. Mr. Taft vetoed it; and from that moment the success of the Democratic party in the Presidential election of 1912 was as near certain as any future event in American politics could possibly be. His calling the extra session was a profound mistake from the political standpoint. His permitting the paper and pulp legislation to be smuggled through under the cloak of a reciprocity bill was, in its lesser degree, also a mistake of judgment though not otherwise reprehensible. His veto of a wool-revision bill which had passed both houses of Congress by very large majorities was a mistaken use of the Presidential prerogative, which had never been intended to be used in that way as respects the details of bills for raising revenue.

*The Leader
of Conserva-
tive Politics*

By this time Mr. Taft was not merely identified with the so-called "standpat" wing of the party, but he had become its champion and leader. He had apparently not intended to be so regarded, yet it came to pass. Senator Aldrich and Speaker Cannon had either directed or acquiesced in the log-rolling move-

ments which had inevitably produced the Payne-Aldrich bill and which, behind the scenes, were participated in by Democrats as well as Republicans. They could not have controlled the situation. But the President of the United States stood apart, representing the whole country; and he could have secured reasonable tariff reform by the exercise of his official energy in that direction, and by a timely appeal to public opinion. If tariff measures were to have been vetoed at all by him, he should have begun early and vetoed the Payne-Aldrich bill. The country would have rallied to his support. A Taft Progressive Republican Congress would then have been elected in 1910. A Taft Republican tariff revision would have been secured in the spring of 1911. A Taft renomination would have been unanimous and by acclamation in 1912, and the Progressive Republican party, led by Mr. Taft, would have carried the polls triumphantly in 1912. In other words, the real sentiment of the country was Progressive, and Mr. Taft—naturally a progressive—changed camps at exactly the wrong time, and came into association with politicians not of his own kind. The great newspapers that profited by getting their paper and pulp on the free list gave Mr. Taft

the sort of support for renomination that was delusive and disappointing. Most of them were Democratic newspapers, and ended up by supporting Governor Wilson. Their support of Mr. Taft only served to split the Republican party. It encouraged that futile and undignified attempt to secure control of the national Republican Convention which so absorbed the attention and effort of the White House for more than a year, and which was so emphatically rebuked on Nov. 5.

*The Split in
a Great
Party*

This retrospect is not attempting to deal with any phases of controversy except those that relate strictly to party ups and downs. We are speaking of the conditions which forced the split in the Republican party, and which at the same time led inevitably to a Democratic triumph. The primary elections and the tests of all sorts throughout the Republican States showed that the Progressive wing of the party was in the majority. While it appeared to many people to be a personal rivalry between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, it was not, in its larger aspects, anything of the kind. The significance of the great uprising in Pennsylvania, for example, was not so much expressed in the vote for Roosevelt against Taft in the April primaries, as in the spirit of the State convention which promulgated a Progressive platform that will stand as a permanent document in the history of American politics. It was not chiefly a question of persons. Mr. William Barnes, who is now the real head of the Republican party, would scarcely deny that in that very period last spring he instituted inquiries looking toward the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt rather than Mr. Taft. But, by no means to his discredit, Mr. Barnes was firm in his insistence upon certain platform principles that he regards as constitutionally essential, while other people call them reactionary. Mr. Barnes says that he had nothing personal against Mr. Roosevelt; and he would doubtless have joined Mr. William L. Ward and other regular Republicans in seeking Mr. Roosevelt's nomination if there could have been some agreement upon platforms and doctrines.

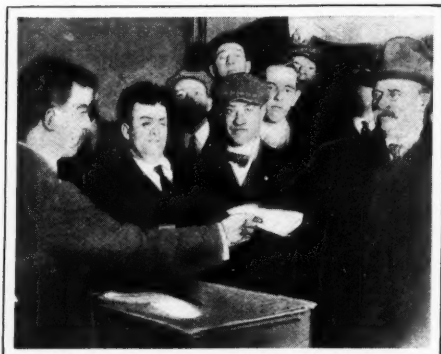
*Principles
not
Men*

The point of it all is that if Mr. Roosevelt had been nominated for the Presidency in place of Mr. Taft, with the Barnes-Penrose organizations as his chief support, and with an anti-Progressive platform, he would have been overwhelmingly defeated this year. He

might, indeed, have failed to carry a single State in the Union against Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats. In the opinion of this magazine, Mr. Roosevelt had virtually won the Republican nomination in the primaries, and the Chicago convention ought to have accepted so obvious a fact. Quite apart from disputes over contested seats, it will always stand undisputed on the record that Mr. Taft's nomination was procured only by control of delegations from non-Republican Southern States. Yet if Mr. Roosevelt had won the nomination at Chicago which he so stoutly contended for, he would have stood no chance to be elected unless he had also secured the hearty adoption of a strongly Progressive platform. Such a result, if it could have been gained, would have left the party in good fighting shape and would have obviated any split. It would, however, have meant a hard fight—probably a losing one—as against Democratic momentum.

*Who Killed
Cock
Robin?*

There have been many complaints on the part of the heads of the recent disastrous Republican campaign, to the effect that Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive movement had destroyed the Republican party. This is a point of view that could hardly be entertained seriously. The voters have acted with freedom, now as always, and the Republican party has used its vast resources of machinery and prestige to secure support. If Mr. Roosevelt himself had followed the course pursued by Governor Hadley and finally supported the Taft ticket, there could have been no change in the essential result. The Democrats would have swept the field. If the Progressive sentiment had not taken form in a separate movement, whether led by Roosevelt or by someone else, it could not have been extinguished, and it would not have supported the Republicans. It would have gone with Mr. Spreckels, Mr. Crane, and many other sincere men to the support of Governor Wilson. It is true that the Republican candidates would have received a much larger aggregate popular vote if there had been no Progressive party and ticket in the field, and if Mr. Roosevelt and the other Progressive leaders had not made their wonderful campaign. But under those circumstances the Republican ticket would probably have failed to carry any States at all; and Woodrow Wilson would have been in a position to secure every vote in the entire Electoral College. A good many of the Progressive votes would have gone to the candidates of



MR. ROOSEVELT VOTING THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET AT OYSTER BAY

minor parties, but the greater part would have gone to Governor Wilson.

Thus the Republican party is left in much better practical shape than otherwise could have been expected, in view of its recent mistakes and its crowning blunder at Chicago. It is now the third party of the country in popular strength, but it is by no means wiped out. What is to become of this great historic political association? According to the newspapers last month, two movements were on foot to rehabilitate the Republican party. Mr. Taft, Mr. Barnes, Senator Crane of Massachusetts, and one or two others, were said to be planning one of these movements. There could be no doubt in the minds of the country as to the meaning and trend of such leadership. There were less definite reports that Senator LaFollette and other Senators of the extreme Progressive wing were proposing to set the Republican party in the right path by making it face in a direction exactly opposite to that proposed by Mr. Barnes, Mr. Taft, and their group. Parties as such are doubtless of a great deal of importance to their beneficiaries. The Republican party, which has rendered many public services in its time, has also incidentally benefited various protected industries, and countless office-holders and members of political cliques and machines. But, so far as plain citizens are concerned, a party is merely a means to an end. It is to help the ordinary man make his citizenship count for something. The trouble with the Republican party is that it has ceased to respond to the wishes of great masses of men who have convictions about public matters. It has repudiated the aims and sentiments of its own membership.

More than half of its members have therefore begun to support a new organization, which they call the National Progressive party. They hope that they can make this new organization serve their ends more directly and responsively than the old. If they should fail, it would be perfectly easy for them at any time to vote with members of some other party. Thus far the Progressive party belongs to the rank and file of its membership. Nothing could be more mistaken than the assumption that the Progressive movement is led and controlled by Mr. Roosevelt and a dozen other men who do its thinking and seek their own ends. Mr. Roosevelt rose to great heights of leadership in the campaign, and his personal force and energy have been of indispensable value to the new movement in bringing its members together and providing a focus. But although not as yet strong in mere machinery, like either of the old parties, this new party is undoubtedly very strong in the quality of its membership. Even if the great newspapers of the country had been more friendly than they have been to the Progressive party, there has not yet been time to make it clear, even to the party's own members, how solidly its foundations seem to be laid, as respects the sincerity and courage of its adherents.

The clerk of the House reported last month that there will be 289 Democratic members, 124 Republican, and 4 Progressive, with eight seats

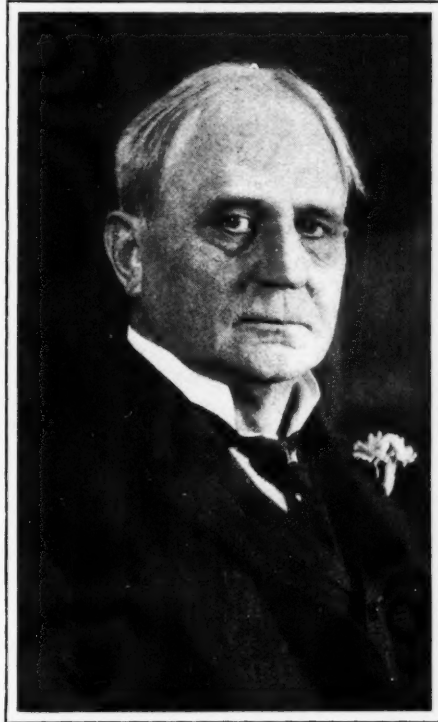


THE LIGHT WILL SHINE ON
From the Press (New York)

still doubtful. (Of course some of those credited to the Republicans are Western Progressives who supported the Roosevelt ticket and platform.) But in the nearly three hundred districts that were carried by the Democrats, the opposition was divided between Progressives and Republicans, with the Progressives taking second place in many instances. These Progressive candidates for Congress were—typically—men of high standing, brilliancy, and promise, and as a rule they were rather young men. They had gone into this movement with no thought of leaving it. Many of these same candidates will be nominated again two years hence; and in a triangular fight they assert that not a few may hope to gain first place instead of second. If the Democrats conduct themselves wisely they may, indeed, expect to control the House of Representatives that will be elected in 1914. But nobody supposes they will continue to retain more than two-thirds of all the seats. The approximate popular vote for President gave the Democrats 6,400,000, the Progressives 4,200,000, and the Republicans 3,500,000. The Progressives regard themselves as a young and growing party, and believe that the future is theirs. It stands to reason that they will make a determined effort in the next State and Congressional campaigns. Their emergence does not appear to have been an ephemeral thing. Doubtless they will have their troubles and dissensions, like the other parties, and make their share of mistakes. But it may turn out that this new organization has before it the great destiny which its leaders have predicted. In certain Western States, as in California, the Progressives have captured and still retain the name Republican, although not associated with the national party that supported the Taft ticket. The Progressives have before them the problem of finding some way to become unified under one national party name and emblem.

States that
Wilson
Lost

Many months ago this magazine expressed the view that, in a contest between Taft and Wilson, the only States reasonably certain for Taft would be Utah and Vermont. It is not necessary to discuss the reasons that actuated those who control the vote of Utah, and are also influential in Idaho. Vermont is so rock-ribbed in its Republicanism that in 1908 it gave Taft 39,552 and Bryan 11,496. This year Vermont gave Taft 23,247, Roosevelt 22,323, and Wilson 15,397. Besides carrying these two States (and apparently Idaho), the



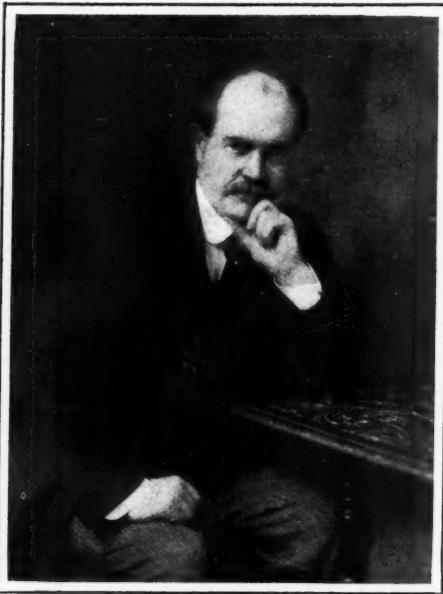
HON. CHAMP CLARK

(Speaker of the present House, who will undoubtedly be chosen speaker of the new Congress and preside over the special tariff session that President Wilson will convene in April)

Taft ticket ran second in fifteen other States. Mr. Roosevelt is credited with having carried California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington, besides which he ran second in twenty-six other States,—an important thing for the Progressives.

Results
in
Illinois

In the great State of Illinois, for example, Roosevelt ran 65,000 ahead of Taft and only 16,000 behind Wilson, in a total vote of more than 1,000,000. On the State ticket, Mr. Dunne (Dem.) was elected by 122,000 over Governor Deneen. The Progressive State ticket fell behind the Republican. Yet the Progressives have enough members in the new legislature to hold the balance of power in the momentous business of selecting two United States Senators to succeed Lorimer and Cullom. As regards the fate of the three foremost Republican Congressmen from the state of Illinois, ex-Speaker Cannon and Mr. McKinley were defeated, while Mr. Mann again carried his district.



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HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE

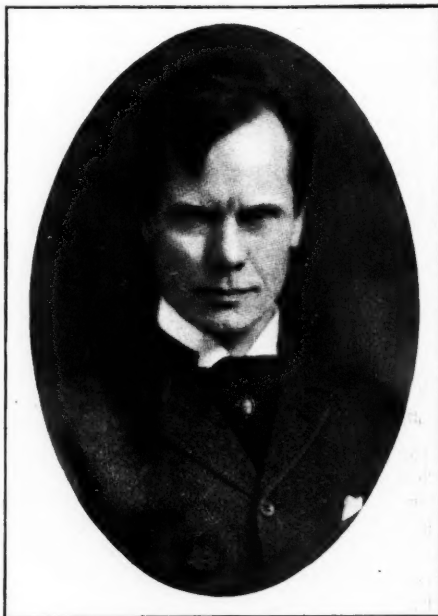
(Who was elected Governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket)

*What
Happened in
New York*

The Republicans, although expecting defeat, made very special efforts in the States of New York, Ohio, and Indiana. Thus in New York Roosevelt ran about 65,000 behind Taft, while Wilson ran 200,000 ahead of Taft, in a total vote of nearly a million and a half. It is a somewhat curious fact that each one of the candidates for Governor ran appreciably ahead of his own Presidential ticket. Mr. Straus (Progressive) had an encouraging vote of nearly 392,000; Mr. Hedges (Republican) polled nearly 456,000 votes, and Mr. Sulzer (Democrat) had approximately 650,000. It is important to note the fact that in New York City, which has now decidedly more than half the voting strength of the entire State, Roosevelt ran 60,000 ahead of Taft, while Straus ran 80,000 ahead of Hedges. As a new phase, there has come to be more political independence in the great metropolis than in the country districts. The New York Progressives announce a determined effort to hold their ground and push forward. We must reserve for another month our comment upon Mr. Sulzer's victory as related to the problems of the Empire State and the metropolis. There are many reasons for the view that great battles for social and political reform are soon to be waged in the country's most populous State.

*In Mr.
Taft's Own
State* Four years ago in Ohio, Taft received 572,312 votes, and Bryan 502,721. This year the people of that State gave 446,769 to Wilson, 312,600 to Taft, and 253,564 to Roosevelt. Thus Taft and Roosevelt together polled a smaller vote than Taft alone received four years ago, while Wilson fell far below the vote of Bryan. It was natural that the Taft people should spare neither effort nor money to give the President second place in his own State. Mr. Cox, Democratic candidate for Governor, was elected by a very large plurality. Both Republican and Progressive camps in Ohio contain many strong and excellent men; so that everyone interested in politics will watch the future party struggle in that State with exceptional interest and curiosity. Mr. Taft announces his intention to return to Cincinnati and practice law, and he has been widely announced as a receptive candidate for the Republican nomination in 1916. A vindication like Mr. Cleveland's is predicted.

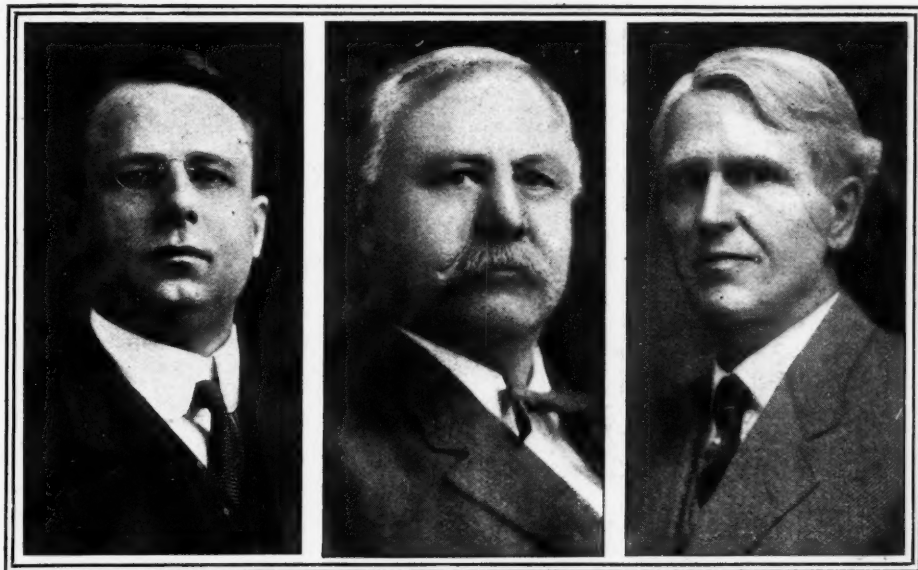
In Indiana A very remarkable contest was carried on in the State of Indiana, where at first there seemed small chance for the Progressive party. The Progressives actually took second place on both national and State tickets. In 1908 Taft received 348,993 votes and Bryan 338,262.



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER

(Governor-elect of New York)



JAMES M. COX
(of Ohio)

SAMUEL M. RALSTON
(of Indiana)

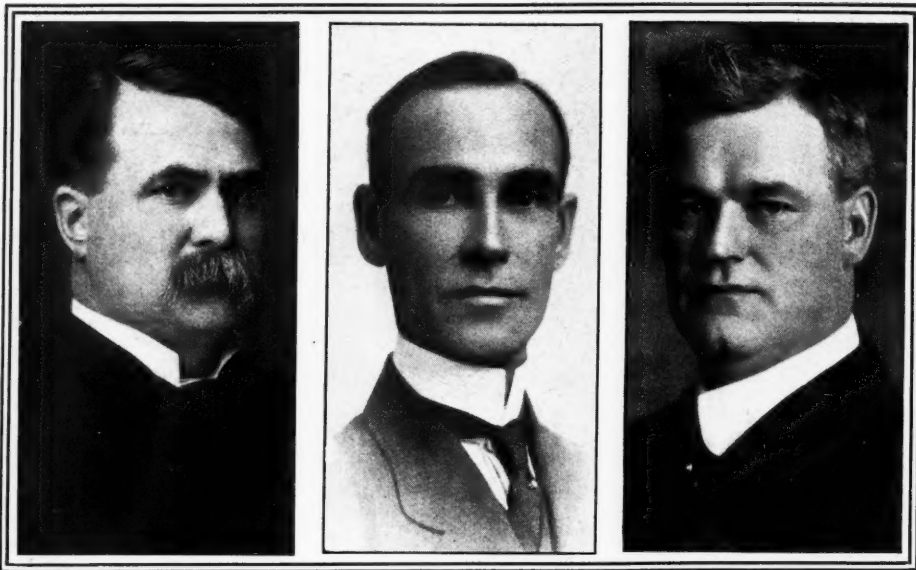
Copyright by H. E. Nix
WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS
(of Michigan)

THREE NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS IN THE CENTRAL WEST

This year Taft received only 150,486, while Roosevelt had 158,952 and Wilson 272,509. Mr. Beveridge, as Progressive candidate for Governor, ran more than 20,000 ahead of his Republican competitor and 8,000 ahead of Roosevelt. Ralston (Democrat), who carried the State, ran 7,000 ahead of Wilson. Taking the country as a whole, Roosevelt ran well ahead of the State and local Progressive candidates. Beveridge in Indiana, Straus in New York, and perhaps Garford in Ohio (figures delayed), seem to be the only State candidates running ahead of the national ticket. Every Congressional district of Indiana was carried by the Democrats excepting Mr. Crumpacker's. It is reported that the Progressive candidates for Congress in Indiana were of unusual merit.

In Michigan and Wisconsin
In the State of Michigan it is evident that Mr. Roosevelt is very much stronger than the Progressive party as such. The "Bull Moose" candidate won out by a handsome plurality over Wilson, and Taft was a lagging third. Yet Ferris, the Democrat, was elected Governor, and the Republicans carried the rest of the State ticket. The Legislature is slightly Republican by a clear majority, and William Alden Smith, who is a Progressive at heart though a Republican by habit and association, will be reelected to the United

States Senate. The carrying of the woman-suffrage amendment was a matter of permanent importance, and since the margin was small it is obvious that the Bull Moose platform on the question is what turned the scale. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the woman-suffrage amendment was defeated. The German and Scandinavian elements are said to be opposed to the entrance of women into politics. The influence of Senator LaFollette was strong against Roosevelt and the Progressives, on the principle that in a church quarrel the saints always fight each other more bitterly than they ever fight the devil. Mr. LaFollette is so far above question or reproach in his long record as a Progressive that he cannot believe in the sincerity of Mr. Roosevelt's conversion, nor can he realize that the movement itself, rather than its leaders, is the main thing. McGovern, who supported Roosevelt, was reelected as Governor, while on the Presidential count it was found that Wilson had 200,000 votes (in round figures), Taft 180,000, and Roosevelt only 85,000. Wilson's lead is not surprising; but the Taft vote in Wisconsin, in view of the conditions, is a matter of surprise to politicians of all parties. There were important local issues pending in Wisconsin; furthermore, for many years past, Democrats have been Republicans, and Republicans have been Democratic in Wisconsin politics.



GEORGE W. CLARKE
(Republican, Iowa)

ELLIOTT W. MAJOR
(Democrat, Missouri)

ERNEST LISTER
(Democrat, Washington)

THE GOVERNORS-ELECT OF IOWA, MISSOURI, AND WASHINGTON

*Cummins
and His
State*

The results in the State of Iowa are highly conclusive as respects some matters, and quite inconclusive as respects others. Senator Cummins emerges as the strong and dominant public man of that State, and his final views about national parties will be of great influence. Senator Cummins, like his late colleague, Dolliver, was a Progressive Republican when it cost something to stand out, to vote against the Payne-Aldrich bill, to incur the intense hostility of the administration, to propose an income tax, to join the Democrats in supporting the Underwood tariff bills, to oppose the reciprocity bill, and to allow his name to be used as a candidate for the sake of helping the Progressives to control the Republican party. Senator Cummins repudiated the Taft nomination as secured by unfair means, and supported the Roosevelt ticket, but was not in favor of a local Progressive party in Iowa. He favored a Republican Governor and Legislature; and this object was accomplished, so that Senator Kenyon will return to Washington. Wilson carried the State, but only by a small plurality over Roosevelt, while Taft ran far behind. The new Progressive party is the direct outcome of the public work of a group of Progressive Republican Senators, together with those movements in a number of States in the Mississippi Valley, and further West,

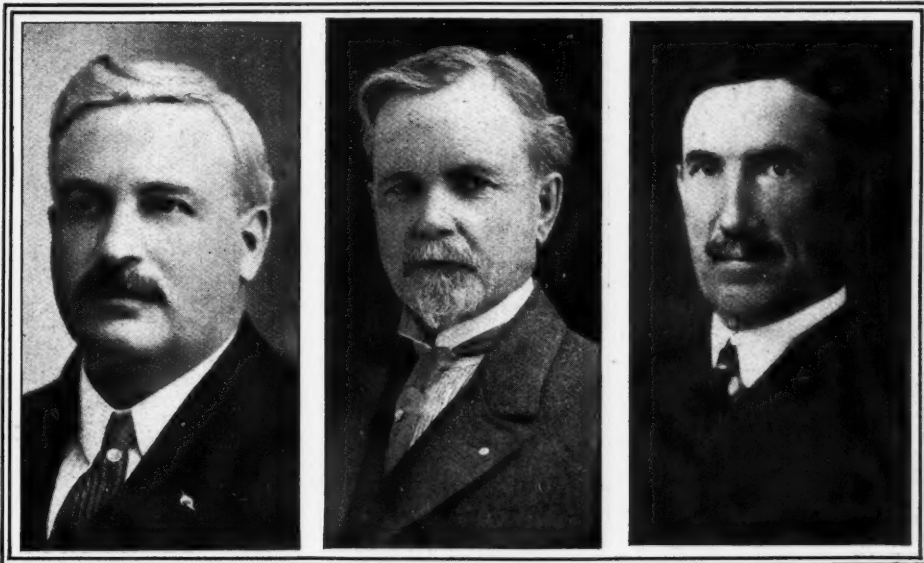
which had resulted in the election of Progressive Governors of the type of Stubbs, Aldrich, Johnson, and McGovern. These people cannot be less "progressive" in the future than in the past. Under what party name they will act, a few years hence, remains to be seen. The views of men like Senator Cummins must have great weight in helping to settle so practical a question.

*Minnesota
—Missouri*

In the State of Minnesota, Roosevelt's plurality was decisive over Wilson, while Taft's vote was very far behind. But the State Progressive ticket had comparatively small support, and the Republicans reelected Eberhart as Governor and carried the legislature. This means that the veteran Knute Nelson will have another term in the Senate, where his industry and fidelity are recognized by all his colleagues. Four years ago Taft carried Missouri over Bryan by a few hundred votes. This year Wilson fell a little short of the Bryan vote, while the total vote for Taft and Roosevelt together fell considerably below the Republican vote of 1908.

*On the
Pacific Coast*

In California, the Progressives controlled the Republican machinery, and the Taft people neglected, until it was too late, to nominate electors by petition. Under these circum-



S. V. STEWART
(Democrat, Montana)

FRANK M. BYRNE
(Republican, South Dakota)

L. B. HANNA
(Republican, North Dakota)

THREE GOVERNORS-ELECT IN THE NORTHWEST

stances the Taft Republicans voted for Wilson or abstained. Roosevelt seems to have carried the State by a handful of votes, he and Wilson each receiving a few more than 282,000. There were 2300 voters who wrote in the names of the Taft electors. In Idaho, the conditions were reversed and the Roosevelt electors were not printed on the ballot paper. Yet in that State 25 per cent. of all the voters took the trouble to fill in the names of the Roosevelt electors. The count of the State was very slow, and it was not certain, as this comment was written, whether Taft or Wilson had won. The State of Washington was carried by Roosevelt, with Taft third, but the Democrats captured the Governorship. We have already noted the interesting fact that Mrs. Helen B. Scott, of Tacoma, was successful on the Roosevelt electoral ticket,—the first woman to fill that position in the history of the country. Mrs. Josephine C. Preston was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction on the Republican ticket. Amendments to the constitution were adopted approving of the initiative and referendum and of the recall of State and county officials, not including judges. Mr. Taft also ran third in Oregon, Wilson carrying the State. Mr. Lane, Democratic candidate for United States Senator, carried the primaries, which under the Oregon system insures his election, although he obtained

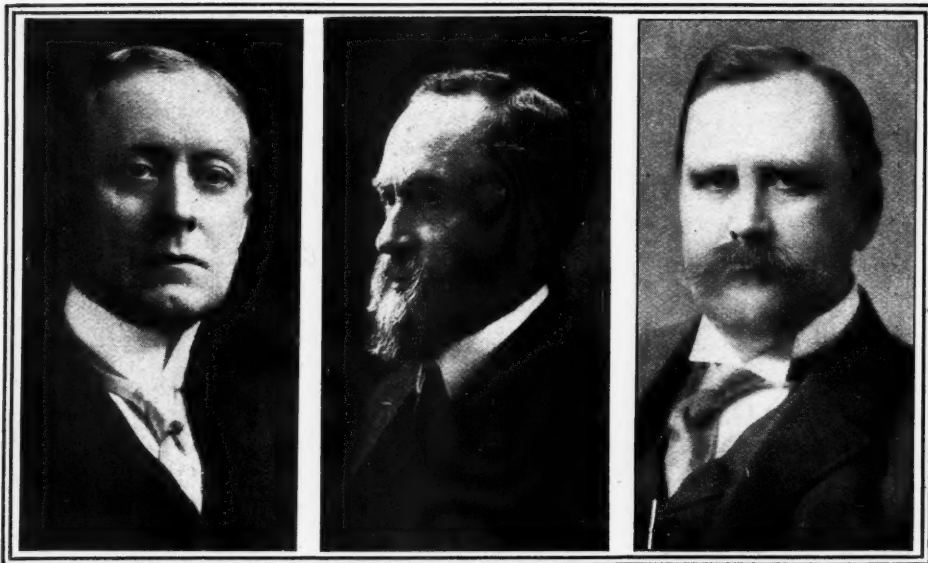
scarcely more than one-third of the total vote. It is to be noted that Oregon is one of the States which now adopts woman suffrage, while in this State, as also in Missouri, a proposed single-tax amendment of the constitution was defeated.

The Dakotas and Montana

South Dakota was carried by Roosevelt, with no Taft ticket in the field. The electors had been chosen in primaries last spring, and it was afterwards agreed that if elected they would be willing to vote for Taft in case their votes could not aid Roosevelt to win. North Dakota, on the other hand, had three tickets, and was carried by Wilson, with Roosevelt leading Taft. In both Dakotas, Republicans were elected Governor. Montana, which has always been a close State, was carried by the Democrats. Senator Dixon, chairman of the Progressive Campaign Committee, had the satisfaction of winning second place for his new party. Dixon himself ran a good second for the Senatorship, which was won by L. J. Walsh.

Party Condi- tions in New England

The Progressive movement had been regarded as a distinctively Western form of radicalism, and New England was counted upon to remain conservative and orthodox. Yet the new party has made a noteworthy beginning in the six New England States. We have already



ARAM J. POTHIER
(Republican, Rhode Island)

SIMEON E. BALDWIN
(Democrat, Connecticut)

EUGENE N. FOSS
(Democrat, Massachusetts)

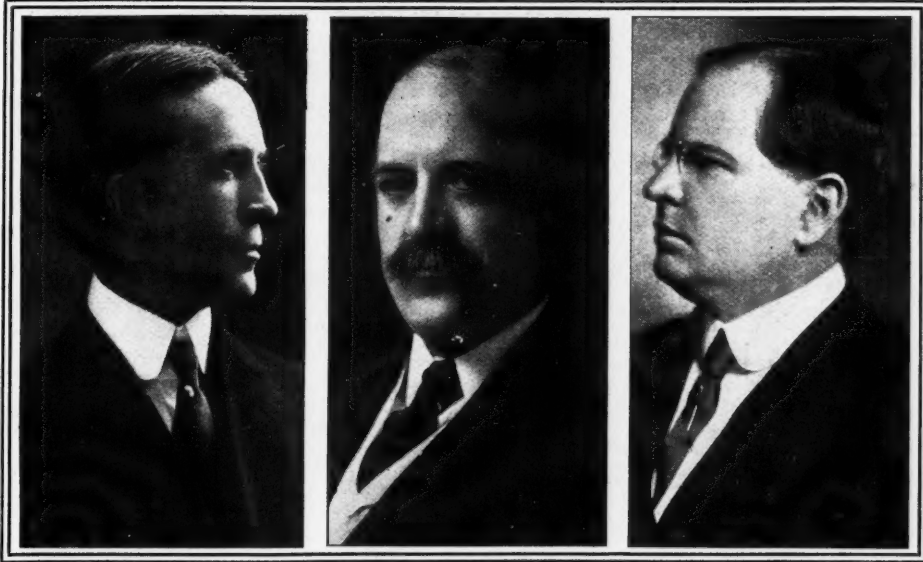
THREE REELECTED GOVERNORS OF NEW ENGLAND STATES

referred to Vermont, where a change of less than 500 votes would have put Roosevelt first. Wilson carried Maine by only a small plurality over Roosevelt, the Taft vote being very far behind. In New Hampshire, however, where Wilson was first, Taft was a close second and the Progressives were a remote third. The Massachusetts vote is worth recording in full. Wilson received 170,995, Taft 152,255, and Roosevelt 140,152. Foss, who was reelected Governor as a Democrat, ran ahead of Wilson, while Walker (Republican) and Bird (Progressive) held their own quite creditably. The Progressives were only a little behind the Republicans. The legislature will be Republican, and Senator Crane's seat will be filled by a member of his own party. Connecticut gave Wilson 71,836, Taft 65,427, and Roosevelt 32,364. State and Congressional tickets were carried by the Democrats, but the legislature is almost equally divided. Wilson also carried Rhode Island, with Taft second; but the Republican Governor, Pothier, was reelected for a fifth term. Judge Colt (Republican) will succeed Wetmore in the United States Senate.

In the Old Middle States In Governor Woodrow Wilson's own State of New Jersey he was an easy winner, with Roosevelt a very respectable second and Taft far in the rear. Mr. Wilson retains his position as Gov-

ernor, although he went to Bermuda on Saturday, November 16, for a month's vacation. He will not resign until after the Democratic legislature has met in January, when it will have the benefit of his views upon important State problems and will choose a successor to fill out the unexpired part of his term. It is also desirable to record for future reference the vote in Pennsylvania. Roosevelt received 428,570, Wilson 384,250, and Taft 269,166. The Progressives will control the legislature. In Maryland, Wilson was far in the lead of his competitors, while Roosevelt was ahead of Taft. Wilson also carried Delaware, with Taft second and Roosevelt third. In West Virginia, Wilson was far in the lead of Roosevelt, with Taft very far behind. But the Republicans and Progressives, acting together, elected a Progressive Republican Governor and a legislature of the same complexion, which will elect a Senator to succeed Watson. A very notable event in West Virginia was the carrying of the constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition by a majority of 75,000.

The "Solid South" Unbroken Governor Wilson carried all of the Southern States by very large majorities. In Kentucky and Tennessee there were considerable votes for Roosevelt and Taft, with the President slightly ahead. In Virginia, North Carolina,



Photograph by Evans Studio, Wilmington

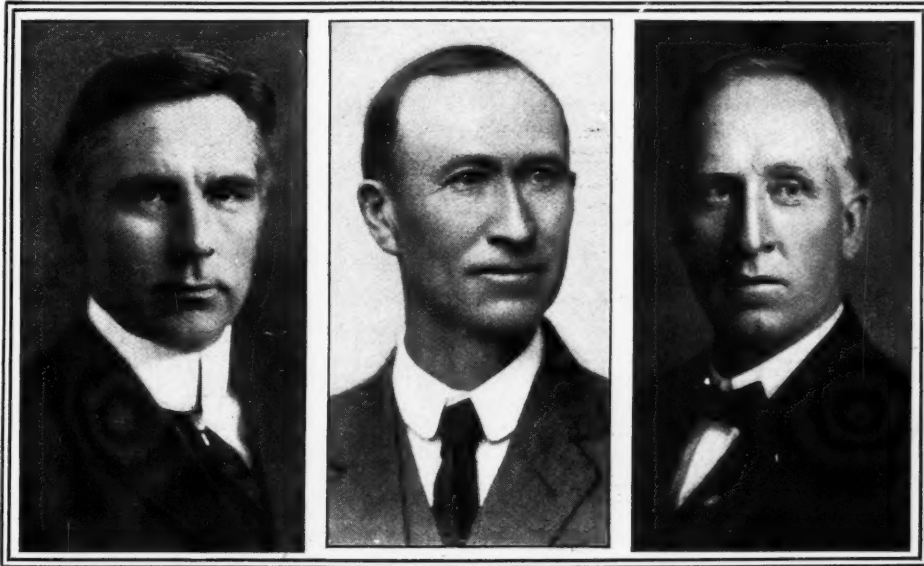
BEN. W. HOOPER
(of Tennessee)

CHARLES R. MILLER
(of Delaware)

H. D. HATFIELD
(of West Virginia)

THREE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS-ELECT

South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, which was carried by Governor Wilson, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, there were no Roosevelt electors. While Roosevelt was decidedly ahead of Taft, New Mexico and Arizona were carried although it yet remains to be seen for Wilson, Taft had second place in the whether the Progressive party has taken one and Roosevelt in the other. Arizona firm root in the South. In Oklahoma, has restored its "recall."



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LOCKE CRAIG
(of North Carolina)

ELIAS M. AMMONS
(of Colorado)

Copyright by Ellington, McCook, Neb.

JOHN H. MOREHEAD
(of Nebraska)

THREE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS-ELECT



Copyright by Pach Bros., New York

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, WITH MRS. WILSON AND THEIR DAUGHTERS

(The daughters, from left to right, are Margaret, Eleanor, and Jessie)

*Kansas
Nebraska and
Colorado* Mr. Roosevelt did not carry Kansas, although he was not far behind Wilson. The Progressives in Kansas for State purposes were Republican, while for national purposes they were independent. The practical difficulty of voting a split ticket affected the result. With a Democratic legislature, Governor Stubbs will not go to the United States Senate. Mr. Bryan's State of Nebraska gave Wilson a very large plurality, while Taft was left far behind Roosevelt. Although the legislature is Democratic, it is pledged to elect Congressman Norris (Progressive) to the Senate, because he won in the popular vote. The initiative and referendum have been approved as a part of the Nebraska constitution. The Colorado voters placed Wilson first, Roosevelt second, and Taft third. It is to be noted that, with all the women of Colorado fully enfranchised, a prohibition amendment was defeated. The Prohibitionists have always advocated woman suffrage, on the ground that women voters would make the temperance cause irresistible. Yet the men of West Virginia have carried their State overwhelmingly for prohibition, while the

women of Colorado have defeated a like proposal. John F. Shafroth (Democrat) was victor in the preference primary for the United States Senate to succeed Mr. Guggenheim. Charles S. Thomas, also a Democrat, will fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Hughes.

*Wilson
in High
Favor*

When an election is once over, and the results are ascertained, the American people have a happy fashion of laying aside all feeling of acrimony, and of reconciling themselves cheerfully to the will of the majority. During the campaign, Governor Wilson's political opponents naturally did their best to find debating ground against his views as expressed from time to time. But he kept an admirable poise and temper, talked generalities in a charming, yet statesmanlike manner, and found himself on good terms with everybody at the end of the campaign. Men who have shown themselves fitted to serve in the presidency of an American university must possess executive talent of a high order and experience of a very wide range. The business of being a university president requires

great power of decision and develops marked personality. If Governor Wilson could also have served in Congress for a term, he would perhaps have been by just so much the better fitted for headship of the national government. But it is the general belief that we are fortunate in having a man of his great attainments and high character to be our next President, and his well-wishers are millions strong.

*A Special
Tariff
Session*

He will be supported by a House having an overwhelming Democratic majority, and a Senate slightly Democratic. He has already announced his intention to call a special session to deal with the tariff question. This is in accordance with a well-nigh unanimous sentiment. There was no public demand for the veto of the Underwood tariff bills by President Taft, either in the special session of 1911 or in the recent long session. Business interests naturally wish to know what is in store; but in this matter they have now had ample warning. The method of revision by single schedules will undoubtedly be continued. The bills will not be perfect, but they will doubtless mean some long steps in the direction of tariff reform. As respects Mr. Wilson's policy toward industrial combinations and large business enterprises, he has explicitly said that no business men carrying on their undertakings in a proper way have the slightest reason for apprehension. In the last days of the campaign the Republicans flooded the country with sensational warnings to the effect that Democratic victory would bring on a business panic, turn back



THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, WITH MR. MCCOMBS, HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER,—A SNAPSHOT TAKEN THE DAY AFTER ELECTION

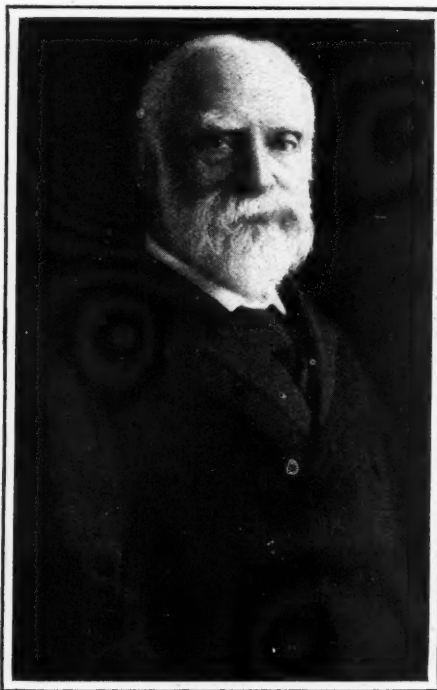


HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
(Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who will have leading part in the Democratic revision of the tariff)

the tide of prosperity, throw millions of working men out of employment, and enshroud every community in gloom and disaster. President Taft himself took the lead in sending forth these unhappy predictions. Yet when the news of the Democratic victory was made known, there was not the slightest appearance of alarm in any quarter. The stock market was buoyant rather than depressed, and the whole business world seemed rather pleased and happy. The simple fact is that the country has outlived the old doctrinaire fight between the protectionists and the free-traders. Although the Democrats are to be in full power, there is no danger that they will reverse our tariff policy so suddenly as to destroy great American industries. They are more likely to leave the tariff too high than to cut it down too low. The producers now, as heretofore, will be better represented than the consumers.

*The Present
Work of
Congress*

The closing session of the Sixty-second Congress meets on Monday, December 2, and it comes to an end on March 4, when the new President will be inaugurated. Its principal business will be the passage of appropriation bills. Such bills involve large questions of public policy, quite apart from the amounts of treasury money that they grant. Through the work



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THE RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE
(British Ambassador to the United States)

of Dr. Cleveland and the Commission on Economy and Efficiency, the Departments will present their estimates in much better shape than heretofore. President Taft has become interested in the plan of putting our estimates of income and expenditure in something like the form of an English budget as presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Twenty-four years ago, Woodrow Wilson was strongly and clearly advocating that idea, and there is no reason to think that his convictions have changed. We are likely, therefore, to move steadily in the direction of a more scientific plan of raising the national income and a more practical and economical way of expending it. As for the immediate work of Congress, apart from the appropriation bills, we may expect to have tariff revision postponed, and also such questions as federal incorporation and changes in the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Whether or not the inquiries of the Clapp committee regarding campaign contributions will lead to changes in the law, cannot be conjectured. At least we have made gains in the direction of publicity; and the methods of financing campaigns employed this year by the Democratic committee, those that the Progressives

are working out, and those the Socialists have for a number of years been using, will come to have general acceptance. Parties must be supported by their members on grounds of a public nature, rather than by corporations or individuals having private interests at stake.

Mr. Bryce
as American
Observer

It might be reasonable to assert that no other observer has followed the recent course of our political affairs with so much of friendly and intelligent understanding as the British ambassador at Washington, Mr. James Bryce. He is about to retire from his post, after six years of fortunate service, in order to complete certain literary undertakings. He has just now given us an admirable book upon South America, with a Panama chapter that is especially readable and helpful. His "American Commonwealth" will stand permanently as the best account of our institutions in the half-century following the Civil War. He is not merely an ambassador from one government to another; but in the highest sense he represents the good will between the two great English-speaking nations, and the heritage of institutions, literature, beliefs and hopes that these nations have in common. Mr. Bryce at seventy-four is in the height of his intellectual power, and his forthcoming books will be eagerly awaited everywhere.



UNCLE SAM: (to Ambassador Bryce) "I shall be sorry to say good-bye"

From the Tribune (New York)

*End of the
Diaz Revolt
in Mexico*

The brief revolt of Felix Diaz, nephew of Mexico's former President, which lasted a week during October, apparently boded ill for the Madero administration. General Diaz was a colonel in the Mexican army, and chief of police of the capital city, and it was expected that he would have a large following. For several days he controlled the important port of Vera Cruz, the gateway to the City of Mexico. He was declared Provisional President and had even progressed so far as to make up a cabinet. On October 31, however, Vera Cruz was taken over by the government forces, and Diaz captured. The next day he was tried by court-martial, on a charge of treason, and condemned to be shot. A stay of proceedings, however, was obtained, through the intervention, it was reported, of Madero himself, and Diaz was sent to prison. It is thought that he will be pardoned. A few days after Diaz's imprisonment, the news despatches from Paris told of the death of Ramon Corral, Vice-President under Porfirio Diaz, and for many years regarded as the most powerful man in Mexico next to his chief.

*Presidential
Election in
Cuba*

A quiet election in Cuba, on the first day of last month, resulted in the choice of General Mario G. Menocal as President, and Señor Enrique José Varona as Vice President. Fearing disorder, two days before the election, the leaders of both political parties agreed that no more meetings should be held. President Gomez closed all the cafés in Havana, and the sale of all alcoholic drinks, as well as the carrying of arms in the street, were forbidden. Less than fifty per cent. of the registered voters went to the polls. It speaks well for the fairness of the election that, despite the control of the government by the Liberal party, the Conservative candidates were elected. They won by a majority of some 13,000 votes, distributed among the six provinces in such a way that the Conservatives secured a majority of five, electing five Governors and two Senators in each of the provinces except Camaguey, where, because of the recent death of a Senator, three were elected. The Cuban Senate is composed of twenty-four members, four from each province. At present this body is Liberal, with the exception of two members, who, formerly Liberals, fraternized with the Conservatives before election because of local issues. These two members, together with the eleven now elected by the Conservatives, give that party a strength of thirteen against an opposition of eleven in

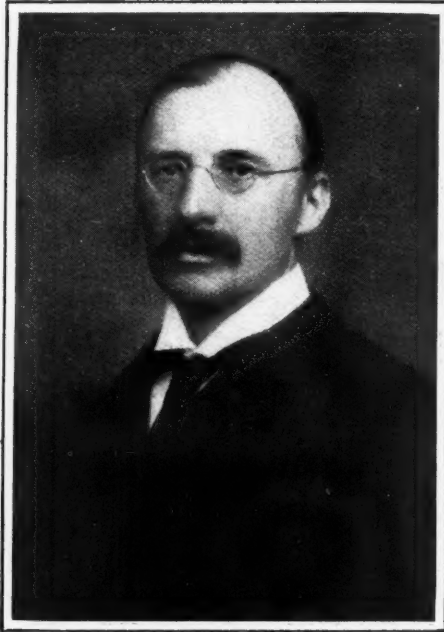


GENERAL MARIO MENOCAL, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CUBA

the Senate. The new Vice President, Señor Varona, who will preside over the Senate, is also a Conservative.

*Menocal
the New
President*

In the Lower House, after May 20 next, when the newly elected Ministry comes into power, there will be forty-three Liberals and forty-eight who are listed as Conservatives. Five of the latter, however, are Liberal "mugwumps" and they will hold the balance of power. The Liberals claim that fraud was practised during the election campaign, and the Conservatives reply by counter charges. The government has talked of making a protest to Washington and of asking for an American investigation of the election. General Menocal, the new President, has been manager of the largest sugar estate in Cuba for many years. In his program he promises to cultivate closer relations with the United States, and to seek agricultural and industrial development. He will at once open negotiations for a revision of the tariff with this country.



SIR CECIL ARTHUR SPRING-RICE, WHO SUCCEEDS MR. BRYCE AS BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

British Home Affairs

During the discussion on the third reading of the Irish Home Rule bill in the British House of Commons, on October 11, the opposition, by a parliamentary trick, succeeded in defeating the government by a small majority on an unimportant amendment. The Ministry was then called upon to resign, but the Premier refused, and the House sustained his refusal. The opposition then caused considerable disorder in the House, which, at times, amounted almost to open riot. A motion by the Premier to rescind the adverse vote on the amendment, however, was defeated, and the disorder continued until the speaker adjourned the session. Hon. James Lowther, who occupies the exalted position of Speaker of the House of Commons, is a Conservative and opposed to Irish Home Rule, the land reforms and almost all the other Liberal measures. He was chosen Speaker in 1905 when the Conservatives were in power, and he remained Speaker under the Liberal administration.

Is Speaker Lowther a Partisan?

According to English Parliamentary custom the Speaker of the House of Commons remains in office for life. Theoretically he is non-partisan. Mr. Lowther, however, has been accused by the Liberals of being intensely so, and, last month, it was freely stated that they

would force his resignation. The Conservatives were predicting that his successor could not be elected without complications that would compel the Ministry to resign and go before the country in a new election. This the Liberals are averse to doing, particularly because of the present incomplete state of their program. Two important changes affecting Britain's diplomatic relations with the world were made last month. Prince Karl von Lichnowsky was appointed German Ambassador at London to succeed the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who died on September 24. Mr. Bryce, who has been Britain's official representative at Washington since 1907, also resigned on November 10, and Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, now Minister at Stockholm, was appointed to succeed him. On a preceding page we have referred to the degree of affection with which Americans have always regarded Mr. Bryce.

Choosing the Fourth Russian Duma

The second and most important stage in the election of representatives to the fourth Russian Duma has been completed. On the first day of the present month the final selection will be made



RT. HON. JAMES LOWTHER, SPEAKER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN HIS CEREMONIAL ROBES
(A movement is on foot among the Liberals to force Mr. Lowther out of office on the charge of partisanship)

and the new assembly will begin its first sessions. The system of election to the Russian Parliament, it must not be forgotten, is an elaborate one. First, the duly registered voters of the nation elect delegates. These delegates then choose electors by ballot. Finally, the electors cast their ballots for the deputies. In some provinces the election is only twofold, and, in the case of seven of the largest cities, it is direct, the citizens voting for the deputies in the first instance. The third Duma was dissolved in June last by the Czar, after a five-years' session, during which very little was accomplished. The Russian Duma, it must always be remembered, is not a truly legislative body. The third Duma, in fact, enacted no law and accomplished no reform worth mentioning. Its most noteworthy achievement was the legislation destroying the last vestiges of Finland's constitution and subjecting that country to the malevolent rule of Russian autocracy. The third Duma was controlled by the Octobrists (so named after the famous manifesto of October 31, 1905) a conservative party of limited aims and few ideals. A just though not hopeful estimate of the work of the third Duma is given in a recent issue of the *Russkaya Vedomosti*, the serious Liberal journal of Moscow. The editor, himself a political economist of note, says:



KIAMIL PASHA, THE AGED "YOUNG TURK," GRAND VIZIER OF TURKEY
(He is a great admirer of England)



CZAR NICHOLAS OF RUSSIA AND HIS HEIR ALEXIS
(The little Czarevitch has recently recovered from a serious illness)

When the deputies of the third Duma arrived in St. Petersburg . . . no one expected them to contribute anything positive to Russian life. The very fact of the existence of the Duma, however, it was hoped, would serve as a check upon the government. . . . But the Octobrist Duma turned out worse than could have been expected, and, instead of exercising a restraining influence upon the government, it gave its sanction to everything the Ministry insisted upon.

Reaction
Still in
Power

The new Duma will be faced by some very difficult questions of social and economic import vitally affecting the 90,000,000 Russian peasants. These include land laws, the readjustment of taxation, and agricultural improvement. But its make-up does not give much encouragement to the Russian Progressives. The complexion of the fourth Duma will not be very "Red." The so-called Nationalist electors already number fifty per cent. of the total, the government having seen to it that no very radical anti-administration electors have been chosen. The electoral college has been largely "packed" with clergymen who are absolutely dependent upon the government for their bread and butter, and will vote as directed. On the whole, the prospects of Russian democracy do not seem very bright just at present. The royal family, during recent weeks, has been



HOW THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE HAS SHRUNK IN A CENTURY

(The first map shows how Turkey looked in 1812 before the Congress of Vienna. The second shows Turkey in 1912 before the Balkan allies invaded it)

much exercised over the somewhat mysterious illness of the Czarevitch, who met with an accident early in October, and who, moreover, is apparently affected with some blood disease. The little Alexis is a bright lad of eight, and it is to be hoped that he will be spared to take part, when he reaches manhood, in the government of his country, but of a new liberalized, progressive Russia.

The Six Weeks' War in the Balkans

When, on November 14, the aged Kiamil Pasha, the Turkish Grand Vizier, instructed Nazim Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army in the trenches behind the last defenses of Constantinople, to open negotiations with the Bulgarian generals, the end of the six weeks' war between Turkey and the Balkan powers was in sight. The brilliant successes of the allied Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin and Greek armies were almost uninterrupted from the moment the army of King Nicholas invested Tarakasch, the tiny town just across the Turkish frontier (October 12), to the forcing of the Tchatalja defenses by the victorious Bulgars on November 13 within twenty miles of the minarets of Stamboul, the events in this most dramatic and brilliant European war in nearly half a century moved with amazing rapidity.

The Allies Move on Turkey

On October 8, Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and four days later the soldiers of the Black Mountain invaded the Turkish province of Novi Bazar. On October 17 Servia and Greece declared war against Turkey, and

the Porte formally opened hostilities against Servia and Bulgaria. Two days later the first Bulgarian army captured the important city of Mustafa Pasha and the forward movement of all the allied troops had begun. Owing to the strict censorship maintained by all the Balkan governments, as well as by that of Turkey, for a week or more, the outside world was kept in ignorance of the plans of the allies. Soon, however, the campaign as worked out by the military boards of Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens, began to show itself in the moves on the chessboard of war. The map on the opposite page will show the large lines of the campaign. In general, the plan was to let the Montenegrins attack and capture the important town of Scutari and generally seduce northern Albania from its Turkish allegiance. The Bulgarian armies, under King Ferdinand in person, invaded Thrace from the north, the Servian armies, under the general command of Prince Alexander, pierced Macedonia through the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir, while the Greeks, under Prince Constantine, advanced over the mountains, with the object of clearing Epirus of the Turks, and striking at Salonica. The Bulgarian, Servian, and Greek lines were, finally, to converge upon Constantinople.

The Brilliant Campaign of the Bulgars

These plans were carried out with amazing dash and precision. Scutari was at once invested by the Montenegrins and completely isolated. The stubborn resistance of the Turks kept the bulk of the Montenegrin army engaged before this stronghold during the entire war. The



THE BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIED BALKAN STATES AGAINST TURKEY

(This map shows the course of the allied Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin and Greek armies: The shaded portions indicate those sections of Turkey assigned to each of the allies "to subdue and occupy."

Montenegro shared her work with Servia)

troops of King Nicholas, however, achieved noteworthy successes elsewhere in the Province of Novi Bazar, including the capture of the important towns of Podgoritza and Mitrovitza. On October 20 the main Bulgarian army, under General Savov, having captured Mustafa Pasha, the northern door to Adrianople, invested this ancient capital of Thrace, while the second Bulgarian army took a detour to the eastward and captured Kirk-Kilisseh. This closed the door to any Turkish aid from the east. Adrianople was then regularly besieged. The Bulgarian general staff pushed on with two other armies, numbering upwards of 200,000 men, into Thrace and soon had command of the main roads leading to the Turkish capital. Meanwhile the Servian invasion had begun. On October 22 the armies of King Peter took the important town of Pristina. The next day they captured the stronghold of Novi Bazar. On October 25, after a heavy engagement, the Servians captured the important town of Kumanova, and the following day the ancient strategic town of Uskub.

Meanwhile Greece had begun her campaign with the despatch of her fleet to attack the Egean Islands. On October 19, the Greek army

Greeks Take
Salonica

advanced through Meluna Pass on the north-eastern frontier, defeating the Turks in a sharp engagement. A few days later the important city of Ellassona was taken by the army of King George. The Bulgarians hotly besieged Adrianople, while the Turks carried on a dogged resistance. On October 27 the Bulgars captured the important town of Eski-baba. This gave them control of the Orient Railway line, which connects Vienna with the Ottoman capital. Three days later, after a terrific battle, the Turks were driven from the strategic fortifications of Lule-Burgas. The Bulgarian advance continued without giving the Turks a chance to rest. On November 1 the invaders captured Demotica and the next day the Turks were driven back after a terrific three days' battle at Tchorlu. Nazim Pasha's army was so battered in this fight that it is reported the entire command, only excepting the higher officers, fled to escape the pursuing Bulgars. Pushing on in spite of bad roads and the poor condition of his troops, the Bulgarian commander forced his way eastward along the swampy peninsula at the end of which Constantinople is situated, the Turks in full retreat. At the Tchatalja line of fortifications extending practically from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora, and less than



THE SURPRISE OF OLD EUROPE
From *The News* (Indianapolis)

20 miles from the streets of the Ottoman capital the Turkish commander succeeded in halting his troops and a desperate resistance was begun. Meanwhile one Servian army was advancing southward to join the Greeks, while another had started westward across Albania to take the port of Durazzo. On November 8 the victorious Greeks entered Salonica, after the most brilliant campaign fought by a Greek army since classic times, and at once turned northward to join the Servians.

Turkey
Sues
for Peace

After the heavy defeat at Tchorlu the Porte asked the European powers to mediate, but received a polite *non possumus*. The Turkish government evidently expected better terms through the intervention of the great powers than they could obtain by negotiating directly with the allies. The Balkan governments, however, represented by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, refused to entertain any proposals of peace, except from Turkey direct. Meanwhile the fleeing Ottoman troops and the despairing inhabitants of the suburbs were filling Constantinople with a frightened and disorderly mob, and the dreaded cholera had made its appearance in the streets. It was reported that preparations were made for the departure of the Sultan and his court to Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and there were ugly rumors of the massacre of Christians by fanatic Kurds in Stamboul. On November 15 the Porte asked for an armistice of eight days and inquired what would be Bulgaria's conditions of peace. It was stated that the allied Balkan kings had determined to treat with Turkey only when their troops had entered Constantinople, and

that the four monarchs would reclaim the famous San Sofia mosque, formerly a Christian church, by purging it and saying a military mass. The Turks, for their part, let it be known publicly that if the allies entered Constantinople, they would blow up San Sofia. An excellent view of the exterior of this famous church is our frontispiece this month.

A Holy
War and
Its Effects

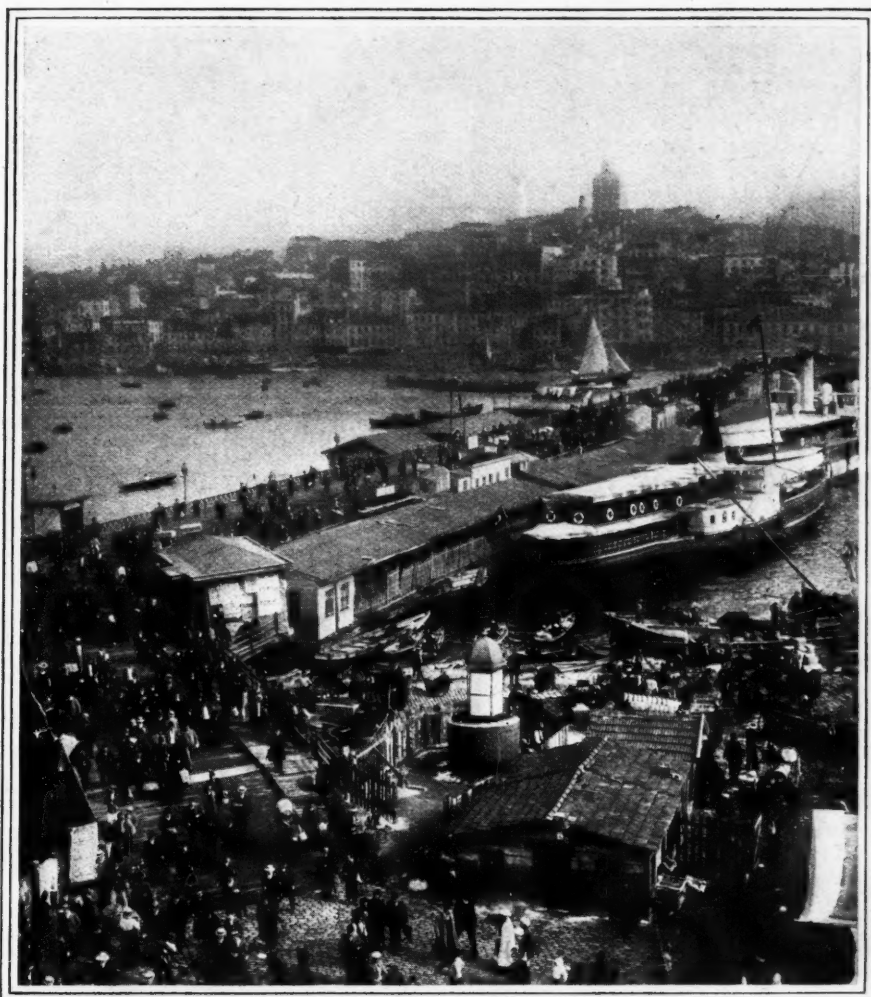
An ominous turn was given to the situation by the proclamation, on November 9, of a Jihad or Holy War. The Sheikh-ul-Islam, the head of the Moslem church, and a regular Cabinet Minister in Turkey, issued a proclamation of war against the Christians, which may have far reaching results outside of Turkey. This was primarily intended to put heart into the Turkish troops. It was also a reminder to the millions of Moslem subjects of King George of England and of the French Republic that the Caliphate was in danger. The agitation, which has been going on for years in the colonies of these western powers, as well as among the 30,000,000 Moslems living under the Sultan's rule, might be expected to induce their governments to interfere on behalf of the Turk, to prevent uprisings in their own colonies, or to so tie their hands as to prevent military opposition to the Triple Alliance, which has been pro-Turkish and anti-Balkan. Fear for the safety of the Christians in Ottoman lands has resulted in the despatch of warships of several western nations, including the United States, to Turkish waters.

The
European
Question

The Balkan question is first of all a European question. To all appearances the day of the end of the Turk in Europe has come. It is a question, however, whether Europe will ever



"THE BEAR THAT WALKS LIKE A MAN"
"I wonder if there'll be any pickings"
From *The Globe* (Toronto)



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A VIEW OF MODERN CONSTANTINOPLE—THE GALATA BRIDGE OVER THE GOLDEN HORN
FROM OLD STAMBOUL TO PERA

permit Constantinople to remain in the hands of one, or even more than one, of the Balkan nations. To do so would lead to eternal discord. There would still remain unsolved the question of the fate of the Egean Islands, and the more important one of the control of the waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The last word has not been spoken, and it will not be spoken until London and Berlin agree, with or without a general European conference, to remake the map of the continent. It is significant to note the way the feeble old concert of Europe has at last grudgingly re-adjusted itself to the new situation brought

about by the brilliant enterprise and heroic dash of the Balkan States. Practically all the foreign offices and inspired journals now admit that the Turks must go and that the Balkan allies must not be deprived of what they have gained by the sword. The futility and impotence of European diplomacy reached bottom, when, just before the war, it definitely asserted to the Balkan States and to Turkey that it would not tolerate any change in the *status quo*. But diplomacy could not prevent the war. The *status quo* in Turkey has moved and will not go back. A brilliant editorial writer of the London *Public Opinion* contemptuously



NAZIM PASHA, THE TURKISH GENERALISSIMO, WHO WAS CRUSHINGLY DEFEATED BY THE BULGARIANS IN A SERIES OF BATTLES

refers to the *status quo* argument as Humpty Dumpty, and says:

"Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty has had a great fall,
All Europe's horses and all Europe's men
Can't put the *status quo* together again."

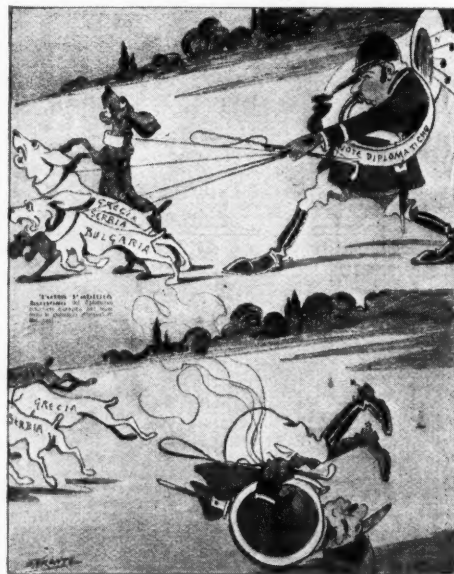
The Turk
to Go
at Last

The Balkan States have dared and their audacity has won. Europe is even now upon the eve of a reckoning between Slav and Ottoman such as has never before been seen. Centuries of repression have made the lines of Balkan evolution different from our own. Deeper hatred for greater wrongs, a keener instinct to fight, and a more reckless expenditure of life have characterized this six weeks' war in the Near East than we of the West can clearly understand. It is perfectly clear now even to solemn ineffective European diplomacy that there can be no prosperity or peace in Macedonia or Albania without something which at least approaches autonomy. In both these states Christian populations have been the victims of persecutions, which Europe, to its disgrace, has permitted to go on for generations. That the Christians may have retaliated in savage fashion does not alter the fact that the reforms which were

demanding from Constantinople and promised by the Porte were put off because of the jealousies of the great powers, and are now made possible only by the gallantry of the little states themselves. The task of European statecraft is now to discover some formula,—“autonomy,” “devolution,” or what not,—which shall secure the freedom of these unhappy provinces.

But Can
Europe
Agree?

There is always present the danger of a general European war arising from the impossibility of agreement over what shall be done with the inheritance of the Turk when he has been expelled from Europe. The dream of Serbia ever since it became a nation has been to secure an outlet on the Adriatic. Landlocked as she has heretofore been, surrounded by hostile neighbors, who not only held up at the frontier supplies for her army in time of war, but enacted hostile tariffs against her in time of peace, the little kingdom of the Serbs has for many years dreamt of an Adriatic seaport. But Serbia's big neighbor, Austria-Hungary, has marked out the province of Novi Bazar as hers because it is the way to Salonica, which she regards as her rightful inheritance. She has moreover come to some understanding with Germany and Italy in accordance with which the shores of



HOW EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN RUDELY JARRED BY THE COURSE OF EVENTS

(The European "Concert" tried hard, by the antiquated method of "Diplomatic Notes", to keep in leash the Balkan dogs of war. The lower half of this cartoon—from *Fischietto*, of Turin—shows what happened to Diplomacy when these selfsame dogs of war had made up their minds)



THE THREE ROYAL COMMANDERS OF THE MONTENEGRIN, SERVIAN AND GREEK ARMIES

PRINCE DANILO
(of Montenegro)CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER
(of Serbia)CROWN PRINCE CONSTANTINE
(of Greece)

the Adriatic are to be forever barred to the Slav powers. Serbia, therefore, must be denied a seaport on the Adriatic or the Egean. With the Servian army marching upon Durazzo, and Austria issuing warnings from Vienna and mobilizing her forces, it was this sharp clash of interests that constituted the danger point in the general European situation last month. This clash was seen to be dividing Europe into two camps. The Triple Alliance is generally favorable to Austria's contention, while the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia) are opposed to anything which will rob the Balkan States of the fruits of their victory.

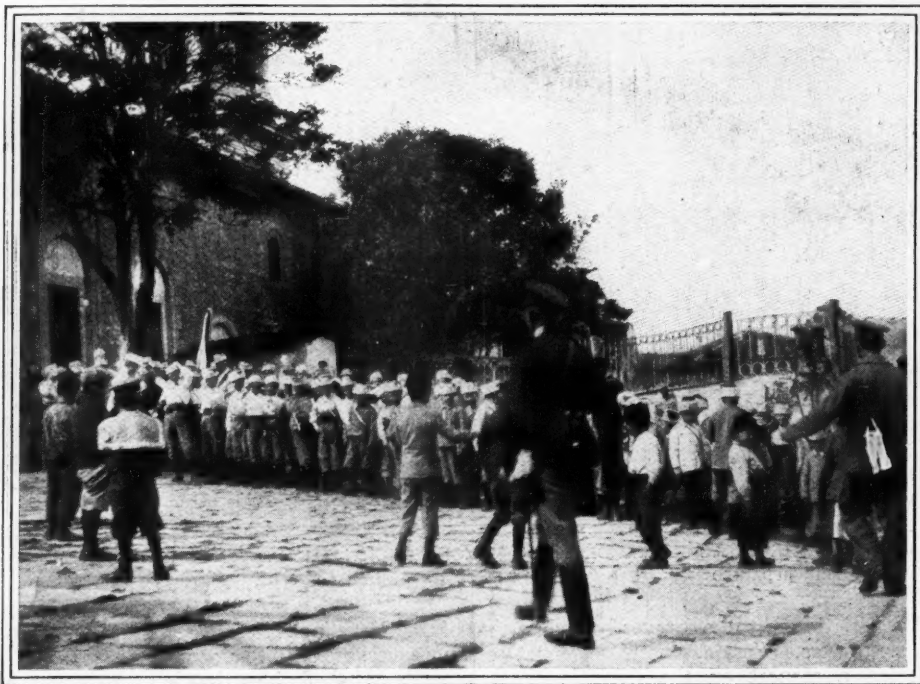
*Some Causes
of
the War*

Land hunger, racial and religious hatred, and stifled ambition have been given by a distinguished European diplomat as the ultimate causes of the war in the Balkans. The first of these three undoubtedly applies to Montenegro, the population of which has long since ceased to be able to support itself on its own soil—or rocks—or to produce anything in sufficient quantity to exchange abroad. The Montenegrins also longed to get possession of the territory allotted to them at the Berlin Congress, but withheld at the last moment by the resolute resistance of the inhabitants and the covert opposition of Austria. Certain lands assigned to Greece in 1878 were, it is true, given to her in 1881, but others were withheld, and land hunger formed part

of the Greek incitement to war. The Greeks, moreover, are still, to a degree, obsessed with the Pan-Hellenic idea that has grown as the power of the Turk has waned.

*Bulgaria and
the Modern
Spirit*

While land hunger cannot be said to have played a great part in inducing Bulgaria and Serbia to move against the Turk, it is undoubtedly true that the people of these countries were moved by the desire to regain lands once part of their ancient empires and inhabited by their countrymen who have suffered for generations under the heel of Turkish oppression. With Bulgaria there was undoubtedly another motive—stifled ambition on the part of the King, or, as he prefers to call himself, Czar Ferdinand. His position at Sofia has not always been an easy one—imperialistic ruler of an essentially democratic people untroubled by any excess of sentiment. The men who have made Bulgaria a force in the political and military world of the Balkans, and who mean, if they are permitted, to make it the dominating power in the confederation, as Prussia is in Germany, recognize in Ferdinand's ambition a powerful ally. Over and above,—or, to speak with more exactitude, under and beneath—all these impelling causes, there has been a clash between two social standards and two political ideals. Bulgaria and Serbia, and, to a less degree, Montenegro and Greece, have been touched by the modern progressive spirit, while the



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood.

ENTHUSIASTIC BULGARIAN BOY SCOUTS, BEING DRILLED BY AN ARMY OFFICER

Ottoman, despite the heroic efforts of the Young Turks, has remained a reactionary. We call our reader's attention to an illuminating statement of the forces that have moved Bulgaria and Serbia in this war, which appears on another page (687) this month, by a close student of Balkan affairs, who, for two years, was a member of one of the famous Macedonian bands in Monastir.

Collapse of the Turkish Defense Next in importance as a cause, to the unsuspected solidarity of the four Balkan states, has been the astonishing collapse of the Turkish military resistance. There was nothing apparent in the Ottoman army organization or its conditions, as known before the outbreak of hostilities, to lead any one to suspect that in so brief a time as one month a victorious Bulgarian army would be within striking distance of Constantinople and the resistance of the Turks pierced and broken. The true history of the events that have taken place in Thrace since October 5 has yet to be written. No war correspondents on either side were allowed anywhere near the scene of actual hostilities. One enterprising journalist, representing the *Reichspost* of Vienna, saw

some of the fighting, but in the main it may be said that the mass of descriptive writing that has appeared in the daily press has been the work of imagination. The statement that the Turkish soldiery has deteriorated since the days of Plevna and Shipka Pass are, however, known to be unwarranted. It has been proven beyond question that there were gross defects in the Turkish commissariat, and that the mobilization arrangements broke down at the critical moment. It is not likely that the world will ever know who is responsible for this condition, but that there has been something approaching treason at work in Constantinople is clearly indicated in the little that the censorship has permitted, and that private information has been able to send from the capital. All reports agree that the Turkish defense has been utterly unable to stem the impetuosity and the ably designed tactics of the Bulgars. The Bulgarian generals seem to have sent their men into action with an indifference to the sacrifice of life as great as that of Napoleon and his marshals. Lieutenant Wagner, the correspondent of the Vienna *Reichspost* already referred to, describes the dash of the Bulgarian infantry at

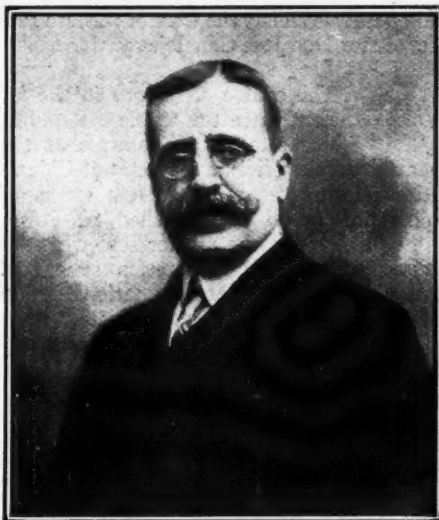
Lule Burgas as "unparalleled" and, "like the tactical achievements which resulted from it, unsurpassed in European military history."

Why the Turk Lost

The collapse of the military power of the Turk has amazed the European experts. None has been more surprised than the Turk himself. The war office at Constantinople fully appreciates the splendid organization and efficiency of the Bulgarian military establishment. In fact, the Bulgarian frontier was the only one properly guarded, the Turkish commanders evidently regarding Servia, Greece and Montenegro as negligible. The Turkish explanation of the defeat to the Ottoman arms is given to REVIEW readers in the following words of a patriotic Turk, now in New York. He says:

It would seem that the resistance offered by the Turkish army of the West, was all the Turkish General Staff expected, believing, as they did, that they would be able to strike hard at the Bulgarian at the start and afterward reinforce the Western armies.

Turkey was absolutely unprepared; the Bulgarians were ready to the dot. The various active campaigning of the Turkish army in the different revolutions and uprisings, in Macedonia, Albania, Hauran and Yemen, had weakened its moral and material force, instead of benefiting it as might have been expected. The great army which Mahmoud Shekret Pasha had reorganized was either scattered from Yemen to Caucasasia and Montenegro, or permitted to return home on furlough. The active interference of the officers and ultimately of the privates, in party politics, created so many personal animosities and resulted in so much lack of discipline, that many prominent officers resigned or were asked to resign, and others were murdered. The most immediate cause of all was perhaps the Tripolitanian war, which the Young Turks obstinately refused to terminate, and the recent Albanian uprising—undoubtedly instigated by Italy—with the result of the downfall of the Young Turks, and concessions to the Albanians, thus cutting the country and the army in two, and on the verge of a bloody civil war. Another result was the withdrawal, as per agreement with the Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha government, of the largest part of the army from Albania and Europe and the impossibility of transporting soldiers from Asia back to Europe in time on account of the Italian war. Thus the war found the Turkish army scattered, reduced, difficult to mobilize, divided in itself, the Turkish soldier, although the same good fighter as ever, as all accounts agree, still disgusted with the entire situation, and tired of being continually called to the colors, the commissariat department and all transport departments, disorganized by political rivalries and changes. To this was opposed a well-prepared and organized army, united and ready for any sacrifice, mobilized in a short time, because of small territory, and hurling itself with all its power quick and powerful on the enemy, before giving him time to half mobilize. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the result of the conflict so far.



PREMIER CANALEJAS, OF SPAIN, WHO WAS ASSASSINATED BY AN ANARCHIST LAST MONTH

The Work of Canalejas

Ever since the execution of Francisco Ferrer, in 1909, on charges of revolutionary teaching in his "Modern School," the anarchist circles of Spain have been denouncing Premier Canalejas as responsible for the deed, and asserting that he should perish for it. On November 12 Premier Canalejas was shot and instantly killed in a public square in Madrid by a young anarchist named Pardinias, who immediately afterward committed suicide. The dead Premier was one of the most eminent of modern Spanish statesmen, a radical, but a friend of the monarchy. He led the anti-clerical party in the Cortes and vigorously pushed these measures which, in time, led to the suppression of the religious orders. He also began the negotiations for the revision of the Concordat with the Vatican. Canalejas conducted himself as a modern enlightened statesman on the Morocco question. He was large physically, and big mentally. Coming of an aristocratic family of considerable wealth, he was of very simple tastes, and very radical and democratic in his opinions. He was one of the most efficient instruments of real progress in Spain. He has been succeeded in the premiership by Count Romanones, President of the Chamber of Deputies. Two days after the death of Canalejas, the Franco-Spanish treaty settling all issues between the two countries in the question of Morocco, was signed at Madrid. This peaceful solution of what, at one time, threatened to be a serious difference between France

and Spain was chiefly the work of the late Premier, Señor Don José Canalejas y Mendes.

*China's Vexed
Question of
Finance*

The course of history in the far East since the Chinese Republic was established, shows that the financial problem lies at the heart of China's entire reform program. A few words of explanation as to the so-called Six-Power loan will clear up the matter somewhat for American readers. The terms submitted some months ago by the international group known as the "Six-Power Syndicate," upon which it undertook to make a loan of \$300,000,000 to China, were:

(1) That the expenditure of the proceeds of the proposed loan should be supervised and controlled by the syndicate, (2) that the salt taxes to be hypothecated for the loan should be administered by the Chinese Maritime Customs Service or by a separate service under foreign direction, (3) that China should engage not to borrow from any other parties until the entire loan had been issued and that the syndicate should be commissioned as China's financial agent.

*Failure
of the
Syndicate*

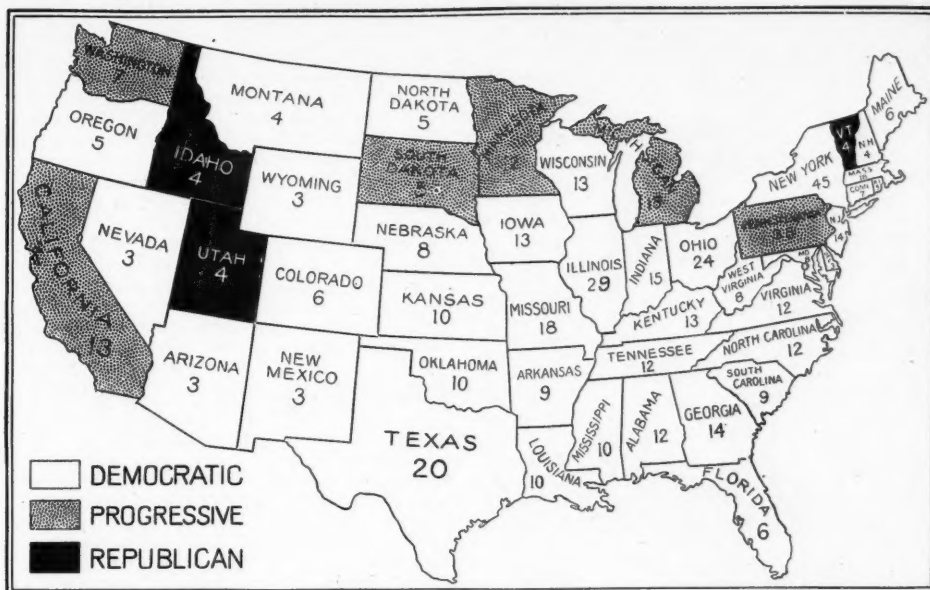
Though demanded as mere safeguards, China deemed these terms to be fundamentally derogatory to her sovereign rights. To yield to them, she felt, would result inevitably in placing the country under the domination of a foreign financial monopoly. The persistent refusal of the syndicate to modify its terms was due to its belief that it was impossible for China to float a loan of any size to meet her outstanding obligations so long as the governments of the six powers would adhere to the so-called policy of concerted action, and withhold diplomatic support from any independent loans. The western bankers also believed that China would eventually accept their terms when she was made to see that her many diplomatic questions—not the least among them was that of recognition itself—were more or less involved with this loan. But the weakness of this so-called policy of concerted action was not then fully recognized in view of conflicting interests in the East. This policy, as applied to this loan, meant nothing more than a common agreement to pool the interests of these powers to prevent competition. Russia and Japan have more than once disregarded it when questions apart from the loan were involved, and Great Britain has also shown inclination to act independently in her late diplomatic exchanges with China concerning Tibet.

*Independent
Loans for
China*

Seeing that there were no prospects of the syndicate modifying its terms, China reluctantly sought smaller loans elsewhere. The differences that rose among the bankers of the English group afforded the opportunity for some independent bankers to break through the line and to offer to China a loan of \$50,000,000 without the obnoxious conditions as demanded by the syndicate. The flotation of this loan was regarded generally by the press as a defeat for the syndicate, in spite of its protestations of unconcern. Although China will, according to the budget, require for the present year 280,520,000 taels (approximately \$200,000,000) to cover the total deficit and to meet the current expenditures, the \$50,000,000 London loan recently floated will go a long way towards giving her a chance to begin at once her much-needed reconstructive work. It is reported that negotiations for a large loan have recently been resumed by the syndicate with the Chinese Government.

*Increasing
Financial
Stability*

Another recent event of deep significance to the future financial policy of China, which has been generally overlooked by the press, is the amalgamation of the Tung Men Hui, the party of Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao Yi, Huang Hsin and other Chinese leaders, with four other lesser political parties. This new party is now known as the Kuo Ming Tang, which holds undisputed dominance in Chinese politics and controls the majority in the National Assembly. Though it differs politically with President Yuan Shih-kai, it has pledged its support to him in order to strengthen the central government. With the Assembly thus acting in harmony with the executive, China will be better able to meet the demands of financiers in any future loans. In her foreign policy, too, China promises to maintain a firmer attitude, as is shown by the recent appointment of M. T. Liang, who was a returned student from America, and who has achieved distinction as a statesman of high order in his long official career, to be Minister of Foreign Affairs. This appointment is most timely in view of the pending negotiation with Russia in reference to Mongolia, which at the instigation of the St. Petersburg Government, has seceded from China and to which the Czar's empire has since accorded recognition as a separate state.



THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1912

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 18 to November 16, 1912)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

October 18.—A complete list of the contributions to the Republican national campaign in 1904 is placed in evidence before the Senate investigating committee.

October 21.—Thomas F. Ryan testifies before the Senate investigating committee that he contributed \$450,000 to the national Democratic campaign in 1904.

October 27.—President Taft returns to Washington from his summer vacation at Beverly, Mass.

October 30.—James Schoolcraft Sherman, Vice-President of the United States and nominee of the Republican party for re-election, dies at his home in Utica, N. Y. . . . Colonel Roosevelt, in his first speech since the night of the attempted assassination, addresses an audience of more than 16,000 persons in Madison Square Garden, New York.

October 31.—Woodrow Wilson speaks to an enthusiastic audience which packs Madison Square Garden, New York.

November 4.—The United States Supreme Court radically revises equity rules of procedure to reduce the cost of litigation and prevent delays.

November 5.—Electors of

President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, and many State legislatures and State and local officers are chosen in the United States.

The following United States Senators are chosen by popular vote in their respective States: William H. Thompson (Dem.), of Kansas; Knute Nelson (Rep.), of Minnesota; L. J. Walsh (Dem.), of



A WOMAN OF CHINESE DESCENT VOTING IN CALIFORNIA AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Montana; George W. Norris (Rep.), of Nebraska; Key Pittman (Dem.), of Nevada; Robert L. Owen (Dem.), of Oklahoma; Harry Lane (Dem.), of Oregon.

The voters of Michigan, Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon adopt amendments to their respective State constitutions, granting the suffrage to women on the same terms as men. . . . A prohibition amendment is adopted by the voters of West Virginia.

The following table shows the number of votes in the Electoral College and the approximate popular pluralities by States, as divided between the Democratic, Progressive, and Republican candidates for President. As these estimates of popular pluralities are made in advance of the complete official canvass, the figures are not to be accepted as final, but it is believed that they correspond very closely with the actual results of the balloting.

	Estimated Plurality	Electoral Votes		
		Roose- velt	Taft	Wilson
Alabama.....	50,000			12
Arizona.....	5,000			3
Arkansas.....	45,000			9
California.....	100			✓ 9
Colorado.....	35,000			6
Connecticut....	6,500			7
Delaware.....	6,600			3
Florida.....	25,000			6
Georgia.....	70,000			14
Idaho.....	100			✓ 3
Illinois.....	16,100			29
Indiana.....	125,000			15
Iowa.....	15,000			13
Kansas.....	12,000			10
Kentucky.....	105,000			13
Louisiana.....	57,000			10
Maine.....	2,500			6
Maryland.....	54,000			8
Massachusetts..	18,700			18
Michigan.....	30,000	15		
Minnesota.....	20,000	12		
Mississippi.....	50,000			10
Missouri.....	135,000			18
Montana.....	15,000			4
Nebraska.....	35,000			8
Nevada.....	3,000			3
New Hampshire..	1,800			4
New Jersey.....	28,600			14
New Mexico....	2,500			3
New York.....	200,000			45
North Carolina..	85,000			12
North Dakota...	10,000			5
Ohio.....	134,000			24
Oklahoma.....	30,000			10
Oregon.....	7,000			5
Pennsylvania...	44,000	38		
Rhode Island...	2,500			5
South Carolina..	58,000			9
South Dakota...	8,000	5		
Tennessee.....	65,000			12
Texas.....	185,000			20
Utah.....	7,500		4	
Vermont.....	1,000		4	
Virginia.....	60,000			12
Washington....	22,000	7		
West Virginia...	40,000			8
Wisconsin.....	25,000			13
Wyoming.....	1,000			3

90 12 420

Wilson's approximate popular vote, 6,400,000; Roosevelt's, 4,200,000; Taft's, 3,500,000. Wilson's plurality, 2,400,000.

Elections to the Sixty-third Congress result as follows: 289 Democrats, 124 Republicans, 4 Progressives, 8 doubtful.

The following State Governors are elected;

Colorado	Elias M. Ammons, D.
Connecticut	Simeon E. Baldwin, D.*
Delaware	Charles R. Miller, R.
Florida	Park Trammell, D.
Idaho	John M. Haines, R.
Illinois	Edward F. Dunne, D.
Indiana	Samuel M. Ralston, D.
Iowa	George W. Clarke, R.
Kansas	Arthur Capper, R.
Massachusetts	Eugene N. Foss, D.*
Michigan	Woodbridge N. Ferris, D.
Minnesota	Adolph O. Eberhart, R.*
Missouri	Elliott W. Major, D.
Montana	Samuel V. Stewart, D.
Nebraska	John H. Morehead, D.
New York	William Sulzer, D.
North Carolina	Locke Craig, D.
North Dakota	Louis B. Hanna, R.
Ohio	James M. Cox, D.
Rhode Island	Aram J. Pothier, R.*
South Carolina	Cole L. Blease, D.*
South Dakota	Frank M. Byrne, R.
Tennessee	Ben. W. Hooper, R.*
Texas	Oscar B. Colquitt, D.*
Utah	William Spry, R.*
Washington	Ernest Lister, D.
West Virginia	H. D. Hatfield, R. and P.
Wisconsin	F. E. McGovern, R.*

*Reelected.

In New Hampshire, no candidate received a majority, and the election goes to the Legislature, in which no party has a majority.

November 13.—President Taft issues a proclamation fixing rates of tolls for vessels using the Panama Canal.

November 14.—Lee McClung resigns the office of Treasurer of the United States.

November 15.—President-elect Woodrow Wilson announces that he will call a special session of Congress not later than April 15 for the purpose of tariff revision.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

October 21.—The United Shoe Machinery Company of Canada, a subsidiary of the American company, is declared to be an illegal combination under the new Canadian law.

October 22.—F. D. Monk, Canadian Minister of Public Works, resigns.

October 23.—The latest Mexican revolution is abruptly ended by the capture of its leader, Gen. Felix Diaz, and his entire following, after a three-hours' engagement at Vera Cruz. . . . The Danish Premier introduces a measure permitting women to vote and sit in the Folkething.

October 24.—The province of Samana, Santo Domingo, is reported to be almost entirely in the hands of revolutionists.

October 27.—Gen. Felix Diaz, leader of the recent revolution in Mexico, is condemned to death by a court martial.

86 8 435

October 29.—Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha resigns as Turkish Grand Vizier, and Kiamil Pasha is for the fourth time appointed to that office. . . . A new cabinet is formed in Ecuador, with Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

November 1.—The Presidential election in Cuba results in a victory for the Conservative candidate, Gen. Mario Menocal.

November 2.—Adolfo Diaz, the unopposed Conservative candidate, is elected President of Nicaragua.

November 4.—The Government majority in the British House of Commons rejects an amendment to the Home Rule bill which would apply the principle of proportional representation to the proposed Irish House of Commons.

November 5.—The British House of Commons rejects the woman-suffrage amendment to the Irish Home Rule bill.

November 11.—The Liberal Government is defeated in the British House of Commons in a "snap" division upon an amendment to the Home Rule bill.

November 12.—The Prime Minister of Spain, José Canalejas y Mendes, is shot and killed by an anarchist at Madrid.

November 13.—Serious disorder is occasioned in the House of Commons upon the Premier's motion to rescind the adverse vote on an amendment to the Home Rule bill, and the session is adjourned.

November 14.—Count Alvarado de Romanones, president of the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, is appointed Prime Minister.

November 15.—Lu Cheng-hsiang, formerly Premier of China, is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . The text of Germany's petroleum-monopoly bill is made public.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 17.—Turkey declares war on Bulgaria and Servia; Greece and Servia declare war on Turkey.

October 18.—The final draft of the treaty of peace between Italy and Turkey is signed by the delegates at Ouchy, Switzerland. . . . China resumes payment of the Boxer indemnities.

October 19.—Russia recognizes the independence of Northern Manchuria.

October 26.—It is announced at Paris that a complete agreement has been reached with Spain regarding Morocco.

November 3.—Turkey appeals to the powers to intervene in its war with Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Servia.

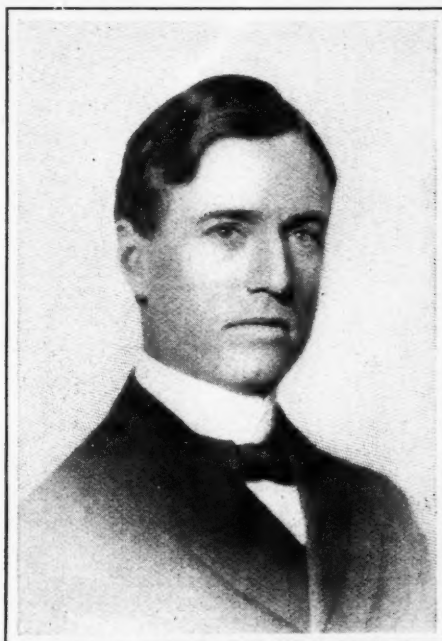
November 8.—Two American warships are ordered to Turkey to protect American citizens.

November 10.—It becomes known at Washington that James Bryce has tendered his resignation as British ambassador; Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice is named as his successor.

November 11.—The resignation of Charles Page Bryan as American minister to Japan is announced.

November 14.—The Franco-Spanish treaty on Morocco is signed at Madrid. . . . Larz Anderson, American minister to Belgium, is appointed ambassador to Japan.

November 15.—Ratifications of an agreement between Great Britain and the United States,



HON. WALTER M. CHANDLER
(Elected by the Progressives to represent a New York City district in Congress)

supplementing the Newfoundland fisheries arbitration award, are exchanged at Washington.

THE WAR IN THE BALKANS

October 17.—Turkey declares war on Bulgaria and Servia; Greece and Servia declare war on Turkey.

October 19.—Bulgarian troops capture the town of Mustapha Pasha, near Adrianople. . . . The Turkish fleet bombards Varna, a Bulgarian port. . . . The Greek and Servian armies cross the Turkish frontier.

October 22.—The capital of the island of Lemnos, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, is captured by Greek troops.

October 23.—Novi-Bazar, a strongly fortified Turkish town near the Servian border, is captured by the Servian army.

October 24.—After two days' fighting the Bulgarian army captures Kirk Kilisseh, a strategic fortified town on the route to Constantinople.

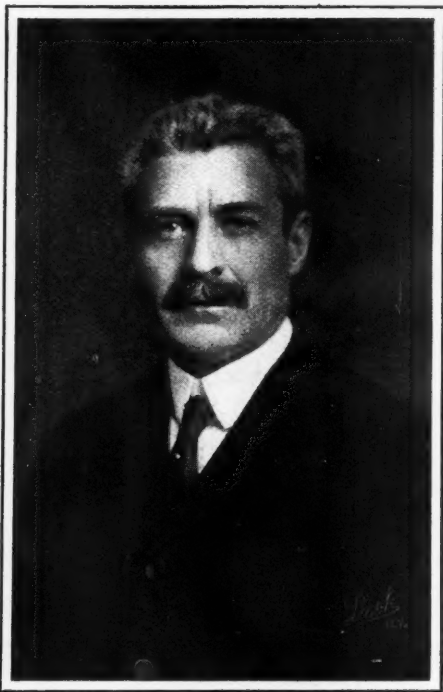
October 25.—A two-days' battle at Koumanovo results in a victory for the Servians; 10,000 Turks are killed or wounded.

October 26.—Uskub falls into the hands of the Servian troops after severe fighting.

October 27.—The Montenegrin army begins a bombardment of Scutari.

October 29.—Servian troops, led by Crown Prince Alexander, capture the town of Veles, Turkey.

October 30.—After two days' fighting, the Turkish town of Lule Burgas is taken by the



MR. SAMUEL REA, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

Bulgarians; it is estimated that 40,000 Turkish soldiers are killed or wounded.

October 31.—The Bulgarian army, under General Savov, follows up its victory at Lule Burgas and completely routs the main Turkish army of 200,000 men, under the Minister of War.

November 1.—A Greek torpedo boat, under cover of darkness, steams into the Gulf of Salonica and sinks the Turkish battleship *Feth-i-Buland*.

November 3.—Turkey notifies the powers of its desire that they intervene and begin negotiations for peace. . . . Greek troops capture Prevesa, a fortified town on the Gulf of Arta.

November 4.—The European powers inform Turkey that it must treat for peace directly with the Balkan nations.

November 8.—The city of Salonica, a Turkish stronghold, is taken without serious opposition by the Greek army under Crown Prince Constantine. . . . It is reported at Constantinople that the Sheik-ul-Islam, head of the Mohammedan faith, has called a "holy war."

November 10.—The Turkish Government orders the disarmament of the populace in Constantinople, to prevent a massacre of Christians.

November 12.—It is reported at the capitals of Bulgaria and Turkey that the Turkish commander in the field has asked the Bulgarian commander to grant an armistice.

November 15.—It is reported that more than 500 cases of cholera are discovered each day among the Turkish troops at the Tchataldja fortification, guarding Constantinople.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 16.—A typhoon sweeps over about one-tenth the total area of the Philippines, causing the death of more than 1000 natives and the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property.

October 18.—A portion of the arsenal at Benicia, Cal. is destroyed by fire, the loss amounting to \$3,000,000. . . . The street-railway strike at Augusta, Ga., is ended by the company granting wage increases and shorter hours.

October 21.—Ex-President Roosevelt leaves the Mercy Hospital, in Chicago, and starts for his home at Oyster Bay. . . . Lieutenants Gericke and Steler, of the German army, are killed by an explosion of their balloon over Grossenhain.

October 22.—Two companies of Indiana militia, under orders from the Governor, close the racetrack at Mineral Springs because of unlawful gambling.

October 24.—Lieut. Charles Becker, of the New York police, is found guilty of instigating the murder of Herman Rosenthal, a gambler about to testify concerning police corruption.

October 30.—Two regiments of the Florida National Guard are ordered to Jacksonville to suppress rioting incident to the street-railway strike. . . . The battleship *New York* is successfully launched at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

November 2.—President Taft and many other Government officials attend the funeral services of Vice-President Sherman at Utica, N. Y.

November 3.—A hurricane causes extensive damage along the west coast of Mexico and Central America.

November 8.—The Government's crop report indicates an unprecedented yield of corn, hay, oats, potatoes, barley, flaxseed, and rye.

November 9.—Fifteen thousand women take part in an evening parade in New York City to celebrate the woman-suffrage victories in the elections.

November 11.—The Secretary of War refuses to permit the transatlantic steamship companies to increase to 1000 feet the length of their piers in the Hudson River opposite New York City. . . . Fourteen persons are killed and 42 seriously injured in a train wreck on the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad north of New Orleans.

November 12.—The Nobel Prize for physics is awarded to Gustaf Dalen, of Switzerland, and for chemistry to Professors Grignard, of Nancy University, and Sabatier, of Toulouse University.

November 13.—Fifteen persons are killed and a score injured in a wreck on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad near Indianapolis. . . . James McCrea tenders his resignation as president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and Samuel Rea, vice-president, is chosen to succeed him. . . . M. E. Ingalls retires as chairman of the "Big Four" System.

November 15.—The Nobel Prize for literature is awarded to Gerhart Hauptmann, the German author and dramatist. . . . The second Clinical Congress of Surgeons of North America, at which many remarkable operations were performed, comes to an end at New York City.

November 16.—Woodrow Wilson, President-elect of the United States, sails for Bermuda for a month's vacation. . . . The National Horse Show Association opens its twenty-eighth annual exhibition in New York City.

OBITUARY

October 17.—Weldon Brinton Heyburn, United States Senator from Idaho, 60. . . . George N. Southwick, formerly Representative in Congress from New York, 49.

October 18.—Alfred Tyler Perry, president of Marietta College (Ohio), 54. . . . Richard Temple, a well-known British actor.

October 19.—Rt. Rev. John Clancy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin (Ireland), 56.

October 20.—William Rankin, of the Williams College class of 1831, believed to be the oldest college graduate in America, 102. . . . Charles Waldemar Bucholz, for many years chief engineer of the Erie Railroad, 69.

October 22.—Robert Barr, the novelist and editor of the *Idler*, 62. . . . Alfred Spring, a justice of the New York Supreme Court, 61. . . . D. L. Taylor, a prominent advertising agent, 46.

October 23.—John F. Stratton, of New York, a prominent manufacturer of musical instruments.

October 24.—Arthur Wellesley Peel, Viscount Peel, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons, 83. . . . John Walton Spencer, a pioneer in the field of agricultural extension work, 69.

October 26.—Henry Beebe Carrington, a Brigadier-General of volunteers at the close of the Civil War, 88. . . . Mother Mary Sebastian, provincial of the Eastern Province of the Sisters of Notre Dame, 54.

October 27.—Madame Judith, the noted French actress, 85. . . . Dr. Paul Segond, an eminent French surgeon. . . . Brig.-Gen. Charles Morris, U. S. A., retired, 69.

October 28.—Edgar Tinel, the Belgian composer and director of the Royal Conservatory of Music, 58. . . . Frederic Vernon, a noted French engraver, 54. . . . Capt. Frank Brinckley, for many years Japanese correspondent of the *London Times*, 71.

October 29.—Brevet Brig.-Gen. Alfred Stedman Hartwell, formerly Chief Justice of the Hawaii Supreme Court, 75. . . . Dr. George Montgomery Tuttle, of New York, an eminent gynecologist, 56.

October 30.—James Schoolcraft Sherman, Vice-President of the United States, 57. . . . Richard E. Connell, Representative in Congress from Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 55. . . . Adam Carr Bell, a member of the Canadian Senate, 65.

November 1.—Homer Lea, a general in the Chinese army and an authority on Chinese military affairs, 35.

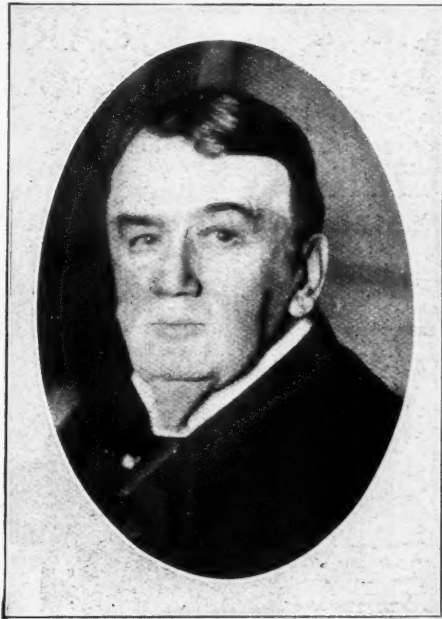
November 2.—Gen. Reece Marshall Newport, quartermaster commandant at Baltimore during the Civil War, 75.

November 3.—George H. Utter, Representative in Congress from Rhode Island, 58. . . . Terence Jacobsen, formerly a prominent educator of Brooklyn, N. Y., 68. . . . Maj.-Gen. Robert Maitland O'Reilly, U. S. A., retired, formerly Surgeon-General, 67. . . . Samuel H. Cramp, at one time head of the Cramp shipbuilding concern, 78.

November 4.—Dr. Arthur Tracy Cabot, a noted Boston surgeon, 60. . . . Major James H. Purdy, of Chicago, an authority on corporation law, 74.

November 5.—Very Rev. Dean Martin Gessner, a prominent New Jersey clergyman, 86. . . . Siegfried Behrens, a noted Philadelphia musician, 72.

November 6.—John L. Wilson, proprietor of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and formerly United



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THE LATE SENATOR WELDON B. HEYBURN OF IDAHO

States Senator, 62. . . . Rev. Dr. Henry Sylvester Nash, an authority on the New Testament, 58. . . . John W. Mallet, professor-emeritus of applied chemistry, at the University of Virginia, 80.

November 7.—Peter J. Ralph, formerly prominent in the shipping business on the Great Lakes, 92.

November 9.—Theodore Riviere, the noted French sculptor, 61. . . . Eli Bates, formerly chief of the New York Fire Department, 87.

November 10.—Lord Christopher Furness, the British shipbuilder, 60. . . . Ramon Corral, formerly Vice-President of Mexico, 58. . . . Clement A. Griscom, prominently connected with American steamship interests, 72. . . . Francis L. Eames, formerly president of the New York Stock Exchange, 68.

November 11.—Julius Augustus Wayland, founder and owner of the *Appeal to Reason*, a Socialist weekly, 58. . . . William Sidney Penley, a widely known British comedian, 61. . . . William Blackwood, editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, 76.

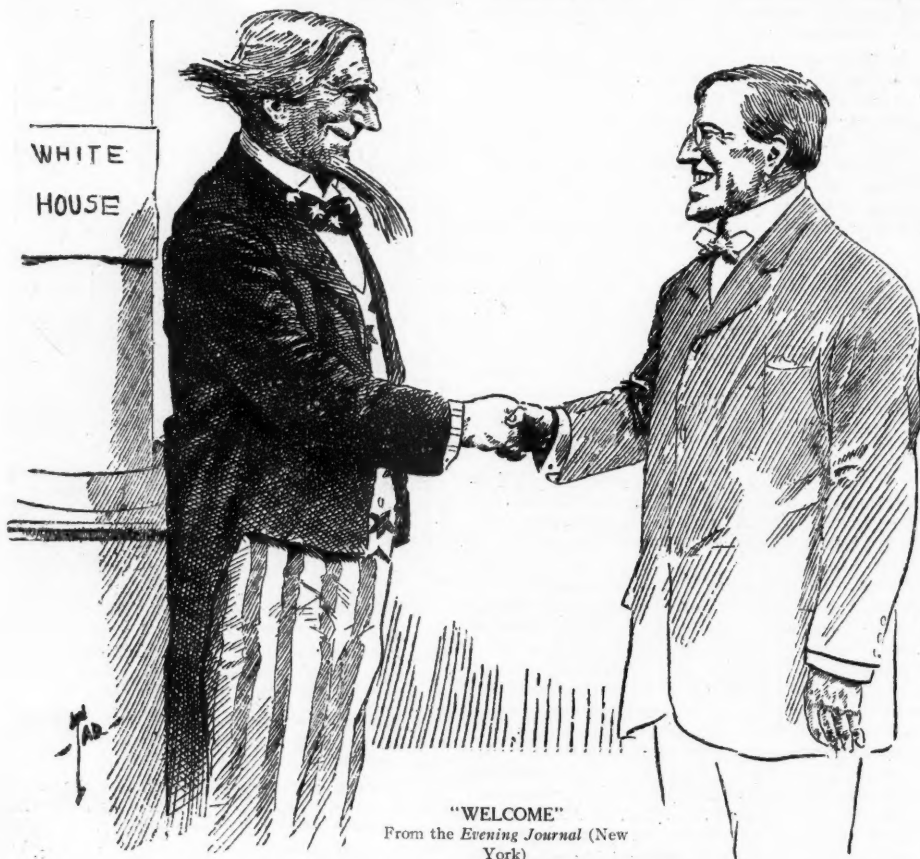
November 12.—José Canalejas y Mendes, Prime Minister of Spain. . . . Gustav H. Schwab, the prominent steamship official, widely interested in New York City affairs, 61. . . . Sophie Miriam Swett, a well-known author of juvenile stories.

November 14.—William C. Clark, a prominent thread manufacturer of Newark, N. J., 48.

November 15.—James Quay Howard, author of the campaign biography of Abraham Lincoln, 75.

November 16.—William Larrabee, formerly Governor of Iowa, 80. . . . Jean Damien Rolland, a prominent Canadian manufacturer and legislator, 71. . . . Joseph Wieniawski, the Polish pianist, 74.

THE ELECTION RESULTS IN CARTOONS



As a result of the election, Uncle Sam will on March 4 next welcome Woodrow Wilson to the White House. The responsibility of the President-elect and his party is a great one, as suggested in the cartoon in which Mr. Wilson says to the donkey, "Now mind your step."



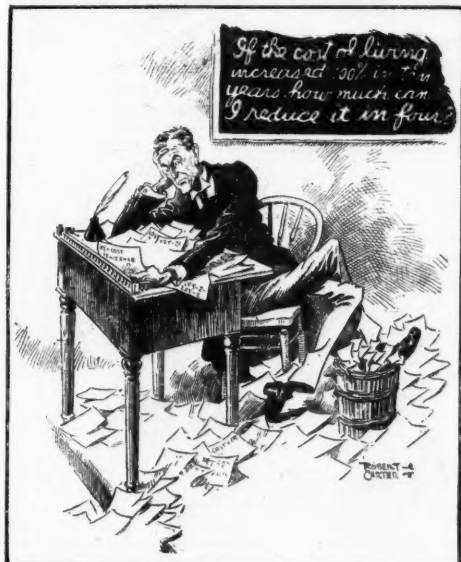


CALMING DOWN THE "BIG BUSINESS" HORSE

MISS DEMOCRACY: "Now that ain't anything to be skeered of!"
 From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)

During the campaign strenuous efforts were put forth to convince the business men of the country that the greatest calamity that could possibly befall us would be the election of Governor Wilson as President. Nevertheless, Mr. Wilson was elected, and

almost immediately afterward he gave out the reassuring statement that "honest business need have no fear." President Wilson will doubtless move very cautiously both as to tariff revision and the regulation of trusts.



THE SCHOOLMASTER-PRESIDENT'S PROBLEM—HOW TO
 REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING
 From the *News* (Baltimore)



PLAYING TO THE GALLERIES
 The Protective Tariff's old game
 From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



ALREADY ARISES THE QUESTION OF ANOTHER TERM FOR MR. WILSON

OLD "DOC" BRYAN: (to President-elect Wilson) "Under no circumstances can you have more than one cup of coffee" (alluding to Colonel Roosevelt's famous "cup of coffee" simile)
From the *Sun* (New York)



THE JUG OF "WILSON—THAT'S ALL!"
Let us hope it does not go to his head
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)

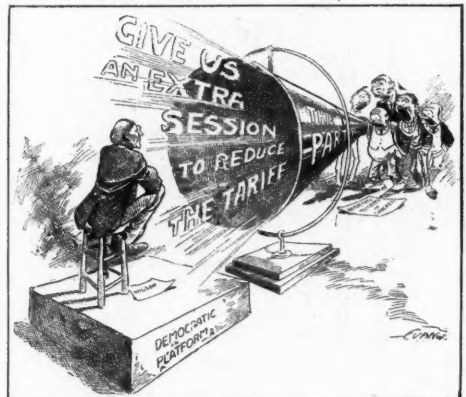


MR. WILSON'S NEW CABINET
UNCLE SAM AT THE WINDOW: "Wonder if I can't get a glimpse of it?" From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore)



IN PERFECT HARMONY

With both the House and the Senate Democratic, the new Congress should be able to work together harmoniously
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



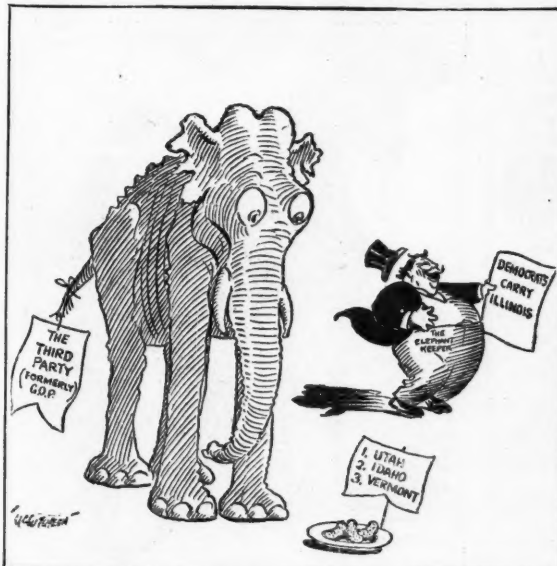
HIS MASTER'S VOICE

President-elect Wilson, yielding to the overwhelming opinion in favor of an extra session of Congress, announced that he would call one next spring
From the *American* (Baltimore)



WHAT HAPPENED ON NOVEMBER 5—AND WHY

From the Advertiser (Montgomery, Alabama)



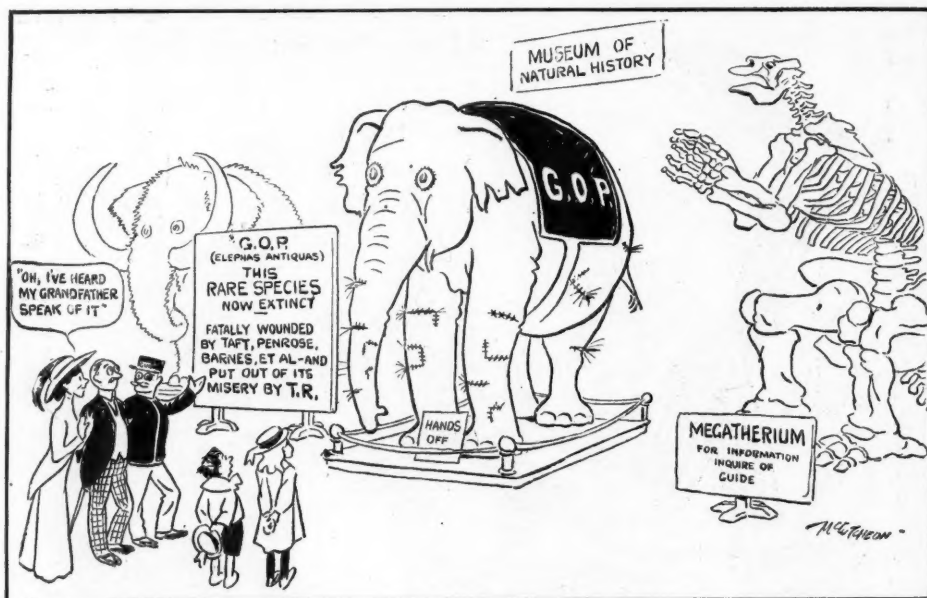
THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT'S THREE PEANUTS

(Since this cartoon was drawn by Mr. McCutcheon, one of the peanuts has mysteriously disappeared)
From the Tribune (Chicago)



IDAHO'S ELECTORAL VOTE, AT FIRST CREDITED TO TAFT, HUNG IN THE BALANCE FOR SEVERAL DAYS, AND WAS FINALLY PUT IN THE WILSON COLUMN

From the Evening Journal (New York)



A CURIOSITY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

From the Tribune (Chicago)

Various opinions are expressed as to the probable fate of the Republican party, in view of the vigorous rise of the Progressives and the relative showing made by both these parties at the recent election. Some there are—like Colonel Watterson—who affirm that the Republican party is “as dead as a doornail,” while the announced intentions of Governor Hadley, Senator Kenyon

and others on the one hand, and of Messrs. Barnes, Penrose et al, on the other, to rehabilitate the party, show that both factions regard it as in a critical state.



“STAND ASIDE, BOYS; GIVE HIM ATR!”

From the Evening News (Newark)



THE BULL MOOSE LOOMS BIG FOR THE FUTURE

(The Progressive party, having obtained more votes for its Presidential ticket than the Republican Party, captures second place, in its first campaign)—From the Leader (Cleveland)



THE MODERN BETSY ROSS
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

The Modern Betsy Rosses—the woman suffrage workers—have quite a group of new stars to sew into their flag, the “cause” having triumphed on election day in the States of Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, and Michigan. (See article on page 700.)



“THE STOWAWAYS”
(Undesirable candidates are sometimes stowed away in our long and bewildering ballots).

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)



CONFUSION IN MEXICO
(Revolutions following each other with bewildering rapidity)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

Our election ballots are such long affairs and contain so many candidates' names, that it is difficult for the citizen to vote intelligently for the various offices. In this way undesirable men are sometimes elected.



UNCLE TRUSTY

(“William, this ‘era of good feeling’ is joyous! It is plain that you and Theodore and Woodrow are not as black as you have painted each other! I see Theodore says his escape was due to his spectacle case! That’s all right, but there are some people that a spectacle case won’t protect! For further particulars just take a peep at this!”)

From the *American* (New York)



SAVOV, THE DIRECTING GENIUS OF THE ALLIED BALKAN ARMIES

WHEN the inside history of the Balkan War is written the chief credit for the celerity and efficiency with which the allied armies invaded Turkey and crushed the Ottoman forces will be given to three Bulgarian major-generals, Savov, Ivanov, and Dimitriev. First among these in military and executive skill is Major-General M. Savov, commander-in-chief of all the Bulgarian forces. General Savov has been intimately identified with the upbuilding of the Bulgarian army for twenty years. He studied in Russia, and afterward in France and Italy. He was Minister of War in the Cabinets of 1906 and 1907, and organized the military establishment of his country. The amazing precision and dash which has characterized the Bulgarian campaign, and the almost clock-like regularity with which the armies of the other allies have performed their part in the great scheme of crushing Turkey, is due, first of all, to the genius of Savov, and only in a less degree to the efficiency of his two associates. A German military expert is reported as saying of Savov that he has already exhibited most of the best qualities of German and French military skill and equipment.

THE MILITANT DEMOCRACY OF THE BALKANS

BY ALBERT SONNICHSEN

OF the four distinct races peopling the Balkans,—Slavs, Turks, Greeks, and Rumanians,—the Slavs are in a ponderous majority and of the Slavs again the Bulgars are most numerous. By themselves alone they probably outnumber all the other nationalities together. However, it is not only on account of their numbers that the Bulgars are the dominating influence in all Balkan affairs, but also because of certain temperamental qualities, apparent only to those who know them well.

I had been in Bulgaria some months and the sound of spoken Bulgarian had begun to hold meaning to me here and there.

"Tell me," I asked two English speaking friends, with whom I was out walking one day, "what is that word I hear so often: 'By ganio'?"

My friends leaned against a stone wall and laughed.

"You will never know Bulgaria," said one of them, finally, "until you know Bie Ganio. Tourists write about us that we are boorish and sullen and that we hate foreigners. You should suspend judgment until you have learned to speak to Bie Ganio in his native tongue. You may know worse things about us, but you may also know better."

BULGARIA'S ONLY CLASSIC

Long afterward I learned that "Bie Ganio" was a book, "The Adventures of Bie Ganio Balkanski," by Aleko Konstantinoff,—the one piece of literature that is truly Bulgarian, for its author was only a simple journalist with no pretensions to foreign literary culture.

The hero of the adventures is a Bulgarian peasant from Shipka who has heard of the wonders of Western civilization. After Bulgaria's liberation he determines to see for himself, for he has heard it said that he, too, is now a European. He travels over the continent, paying his way by selling attar of roses in little bottles, which he carries in a bag slung over his shoulder. He has adopted European dress, but from under his vest peeps the red sash which suspenders have not yet

displaced. His heavy mustache droops over a chin that is never quite shaven, nor is it ever quite bearded, and his collarless, white shirt is never quite white.

Bie Ganio, of course, is Bulgaria coming in first contact with Western civilization. From first to last the narrative of adventures is a bitter satire; the incidents themselves are told with a frank, Rabelaisian coarseness. Invariably the laugh is on poor, ignorant Bie Ganio and his atrocious mistakes, though sometimes the dart of ridicule turns outward and pricks the cultured Europeans with whom Bie Ganio tries to mingle. In the last few chapters Bie Ganio has come home and is trying to apply what he has learned abroad to local conditions, not always happily.

A NATION GOING TO SCHOOL

By itself the book is remarkable enough; it will remain a literary classic. But a thousand times more remarkable is the reception accorded it by the Bulgarian people. In Greece the author would have been mobbed and the Church would have declared his work high treason and unholy. But Bulgaria received the book in silence, read it, recognized itself as the hero of the adventures and burst into a low roar of laughter that has never since died down. In every household you will find a well-worn copy, for over and over again it is read aloud by the young people while their illiterate elders sit back and chortle.

To outward appearance Bie Ganio is certainly not a lovable creature. His uncouthness, his atrocious manners, and the tenacity with which he clings to his bag of wares, suspecting even the police of designs against his property, are the outward characteristics that strike you first. But after you have finished the book and begin to think it over, as you lose the details in the perspective, the bolder outlines strike you. Read in the light of recent historic events, some of the apparently trivial episodes, in this book of fiction acquire a deep, even prophetic, significance. When a Prague policeman undertakes to conduct Bie Ganio to his hotel, from which he has strayed, he suddenly decides he knows a

shorter way back and takes it. His way is not shorter, for he gets lost again, but he finally gets there, by himself.

Speaking in larger figures, Bie Ganio had just such an adventure with a colossal policeman and on this greater occasion he proved just such a stiff-necked fellow with a mind for going his own way. When Russia undertook to lead Bulgaria along the path she had cut out for her, Bulgaria very quickly decided she knew a shorter way to her goal, and she took it. She finally shook off her gigantic protector and proceeded, alone. What Bulgaria's path into the future will be may be a matter for speculation, but it is at least certain that it will be a path chosen by herself.

A PEASANT RACE

Bie Ganio's many distinctive qualities are easily explained. Of all the Christian nations that succumbed to the Turkish invasion, the Bulgars were the most completely overcome. The Greeks, being a more adaptable race, emerged through the conquest. To a certain degree they accepted it; therefore many of their institutions were spared, notably the Greek Church. With them survived an upper, cultured class, carrying with it the traditions of past glories. Whether as priests of the Church or as prospering merchants willing to pay their tributes to the ruling race or even as pampered slaves in the harems of the Turkish nobility, this class maintained its integrity from the fall of the Byzantine Empire until the reawakening of a national life early in the last century.

Among the Serbs also this aristocracy survived, though from very different reasons. When the Turks overwhelmed them by numbers, they did not accept; the best and the finest of the race found refuge in the inaccessible mountain regions toward the Adriatic, where Servian nationalism slumbered.

But with the Bulgars it fared otherwise. All their territory was invaded. As they would not accept, but resisted to the bitter end, their aristocracy was wiped out, their leaders were hunted down, and finally they were reduced to the common level of complete slavery.

Just before the liberation every Bulgar was an illiterate peasant. Even his native tongue had been officially abolished, for he had been declared a Greek and turned over to the care of the Greek clergy. The Patriarch had determined to Hellenize him, so he destroyed all the relics of the old Slavic literature and for-

bade the Bulgar to speak any other tongue but Greek. Only Greek schools were allowed and if the people did not care to learn to read and write a foreign tongue, they must remain illiterate, which they did. They were indeed a race of "kondricephalai," as the Greeks contemptuously called them,—block-heads.

Suddenly three million of these slaves found themselves free, without masters, launched into a full national life without so much as a printed book to begin with. The jargon they spoke was not even a language, only a degenerated dialect carried down from the old Slavic through many generations of peasant households. All the knowledge necessary to the organization of a national structure; the art of government, military science, theories of education, must be learned from outsiders. They must begin from the very beginning.

NATURALLY RADICALS

But among all these handicaps was one big advantage. While an aristocracy carries with it the culture of a race, it also brings with it many binding traditions that have grown obsolete, chief of which is the belief that the many must be governed by the few for their own class benefit.

The Bulgars began without this notion. Having been all equally slaves, they were now all equally citizens. And with no past glories to contemplate, their eyes must naturally be turned toward the future, their sight undistorted by old traditions. Wherefore the Bulgarians are by temperament democratic and keenly radical.

Poor Bie Ganio's eyes were indeed blinded by the wonders of Western civilization. In the absence of more refined representatives of the new-born little nation, the cultured Europeans condescended to receive him more nearly on an equal footing than they would have met their own peasants, just as our President receives an Indian chief from the reservation. To Bie Ganio's untrained perception, used as he was to the contumely of small Turkish and Greek officials, the condescension was not visible. But he did feel their immense superiority.

To Bie Ganio's untutored mind this superiority, vast though it was, signified only one thing: his own ignorance. The difference between him and them was in their wonderful command of knowledge. He had no native aristocracy to explain to him distinctions of birth. Therefore, since it was only a matter

of acquiring knowledge to become like these superior beings, he set hopefully to work.

BUILDING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Bulgarian army battering down the gates of Constantinople happens now to be the striking indication of Bulgaria's progress since her birth as a nation, but to those who have lived in Bulgaria military efficiency is by no means the most remarkable feature of her national organization.

Much as has been spent on armament, even more has been spent on the national educational system. Almost every Bulgarian following a professional career began as a village schoolmaster. Even though only ten children may be assembled in a small village, the government thinks it worth while to send a schoolmaster there to teach them. Attendance is, of course, compulsory. Year by year the standard of requirements for the teachers has been raised, as the supply of young teachers from the normal schools increased. Girls, especially, have been encouraged to enter this career with the result that the thirst for knowledge, so prevalent among the younger generation, is equally keen among both sexes. Here again is visible the absence of old, hoary traditions. Sex equality has been accepted without question. Unfortunately, with the first breath of freedom strong within them, many of the young girl students have not been able to distinguish sharply the difference between a free womanhood and sordid license.

The director of the American missionary school in Samakov complained to me that the Department of Education would no longer accept a Samakov diploma as the equivalent of the regular gymnasia diploma. "No, it isn't religious discrimination against us," he said, honestly, "but we simply haven't had the means to keeping pace with the rising requirements of the regular gymnasia. We can't afford such a high grade of teachers. The government offers us assistance in getting them, but we can't pay the price."

SOFIA UNIVERSITY

In the early days the government sent young people abroad by the hundreds to study in foreign universities and it still sends many who are going to specialize in the various professions. But for a general academic training Sofia University answers the requirements as well as any foreign university. It was founded by a famous Russian scientist,

exiled from Russia for his socialist tendencies, whom the government invited to Sofia to take up the work of organizing its system of higher education. It has since been developed into an institution of such high standing (it is co-educational, by the way) that now Russian exiles go there to finish their studies instead of to teach.

SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE

Of the technical schools the agricultural colleges are fair specimens, but it is their influence on the agricultural population at large that is most conspicuous. Each of these colleges is not only a school of theoretic knowledge, but an experiment station and model farm to which the peasants of the surrounding region may come to see modern scientific farming methods demonstrated before their eyes. Our own Department of Agriculture would have little to teach Bulgaria. I happen now to recall one fair illustration of what has been accomplished in this line within the last few years.

For centuries the peasants down in southern Bulgaria have cultivated the silkworm, but never enough to establish an export trade. The Ministry of Agriculture determined to reawaken what was ten years ago a dying industry. First of all, through the coöperation of the Ministry of Education, the school-children were made to plant mulberry trees along all the public highways. Then young experts began teaching the old women how the worms should be cared for. I was told that for a year or two the old women resented the intrusion of modern educational methods into what they considered purely domestic affairs and that when the inspectors came to teach them how to raise silkworms, they took it pretty much as though they had come to show how stockings should be knitted. It required only one or two seasons to convince the old people that they had taken a wrong attitude; now, as one of these experts passes down the street on his periodical visits, the old women come to their doors, calling:

"Come in here, Yani, and see my worms. Tell me if you have seen such worms in all the province," or:

"Yani! Yani! Come in and give me your advice. My worms are not eating to-day. What shall I do?"

Meanwhile it must be remembered that only half of Bulgaria had been liberated. The Bulgar population spread through Adrianople and over most of Macedonia down to the gates of Salonica. Some writer once

remarked that the frontier divided modern Bulgaria from her own past. But that phrase is more picturesque than true. For there the people had been progressing too, mentally, if not materially.

TURKEY'S ATTITUDE

First of all, Turkey herself had grown more liberal. Little by little the authority of the Greek Patriarch over the Bulgars had been curtailed and Bulgarian schools were permitted. But, of course, the most powerful stimulus has been the proximity of free Bulgaria, where young Macedonians have gone by the thousands for the free schooling.

Under Turkey the mental development of a subject people must manifest itself in a form very different from that which it could take under a free democracy. In Macedonia anything new, by its very nature, must be illegal and revolutionary. On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that in some ways the Turkish system of government gave the people more freedom than is generally realized. No attempt was made to meddle with their inner life. So long as they paid their taxes when the tax collector came around they were left pretty much to themselves. Outside the large centers each community could arrange its affairs as it saw fit and sometimes months would pass without a Turk being seen in the village. This gave the first revolutionary agitators the opportunity to move about with comparative freedom and gain the ears of the peasants.

THE MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE

Being free herself, Bulgaria's desire to free her people still under Turkish rule assumed very much the nature of a religion. The building up of a powerful army was one of the means to this great end. But aside from the official measures taken to accomplish freedom for Macedonia, private individuals, mostly young schoolteachers, went down into Macedonia and spread the doctrine of a free democracy among the people. In each village they visited they organized revolutionary groups whose aims were at first rather vague, but from these local groups there gradually developed a country-wide organization which finally became the famous Macedonian Committee, so called even after its membership included whole solid districts of the population.

From the beginning the organization was based on strictly democratic principles. Each

village sent a delegate to a yearly provincial convention which elected a provincial executive committee. Each province also sent popularly elected delegates to a general congress, held secretly each year in some mountain fastness, which first drafted a constitution and later passed the laws governing the general activities of the organization.

Gradually there developed what was nothing less than a widespread, underground republic, a secret government of the people, shaping itself under the rotting husks of Turkish rule. So truly democratic was it in spirit, so fearful were the people of possible abuses of authority, that they would never delegate executive power to any one man, but always to committees,—a principle which became so fundamental to their system that all members of the organization became popularly known as "comitajis," or, as the Turks called them, "comitlara," the people of committees.

One of the principal objects of this organization was the education of the people in any subject that could be of any benefit to them. Through its system of couriers it was able to smuggle large quantities of literature into the country from Bulgaria; literature which included such a wide range of subjects as strawberry culture, books of poetry by Bulgarian authors, and "Principles of Socialism," by Kautsky.

Local conditions, however, forced the organization to become largely warlike in character. The same couriers that carried the literature from village to village also carried heavy loads of Mannlicher rifles and ammunition. The provincial committees created bands of armed men for fighting purposes; the "notorious brigand bands."

Foreign journalists and writers, commenting on the continuous turmoil in European Turkey, have often inferred from the apparent fact that the Christians fought one another as much as they did the Turks that national jealousies rather than a desire for freedom lay behind all this bloodshed. Bulgars murdered Greeks, Greeks murdered Bulgars, and both murdered Servians. Which was quite true, even that Bulgars murdered Bulgars. But Bulgars were obviously not going to fight one another from motives of race jealousy.

To distinguish the line that divides all these warring elements into two distinct camps it is necessary to know something of the internal affairs of the Committee, Macedonia's underground republic, a knowledge which is also essential to an interpretation of current

events. To the Balkan states now invading Turkey the attitude of the Committee has been even more important than that of the powers. On that would depend the difference between an invasion of an enemy's territory and a campaign in a home country with the enemy as the invader,—a difference of vast importance from a military point of view. Without the coöperation of the Committee the allies could never have expelled the Turks from Europe, especially from the mountain regions of Macedonia. And whether the Committee would extend this coöperation has been a doubtful question; some years, or even months, ago, it would not have done so. That it has now fully consented to aid the allied states implies an understanding between them of vast significance. I am not now pretending to any special knowledge of the course future events will take: when I have stated certain facts the reader will have the power to draw conclusions of his own.

One of the first principles on which the program of the Committee was based, as expressed in its constitution, was internationalism, as against nationalism. It opened its membership to all natives of European Turkey, regardless of race, creed and even sex. Bulgars did happen to form a large majority but Turks were as welcome as Bulgars. As a matter of fact Turks did join and the Macedonian Rumanians were in the organization solidly. The ultimate object was the solidarity of the people in one great democracy that should cover all European Turkey and, in theory, all the world, for the leaders were avowed Socialists. So deeply had this principle sunk into the people themselves that even the simple peasants refused longer to call themselves Bulgars, but insisted that they were Macedonians. "Yes, we are Bulgars by race," they would answer, if you insisted, "but we prefer to call ourselves Macedonians."

It seems almost like irony to make the statement, but their second great principle was peaceful evolution as against armed revolution, their policy being to employ armed force only as a defensive measure. The power by which they hoped to overthrow the Turkish autocracy was education; inculcating throughout all the masses a desire for a free democracy. Unfortunately their numerous enemies gave them very little opportunity to put this second principle into practice.

At a very early period, before the Committee had grown to its later dimensions, an inner clique of the Bulgarian Government had put

into effect certain measures of their own to arouse the revolutionary spirit in Macedonia. They sent armed bands across the frontier under the command of officers of the Bulgarian army, ostensibly on furlough, which overran all of northern Macedonia, imposing on the peasants a rude sort of military organization, inciting them to prepare for a revolution whose aim was a Greater Bulgarian Czarism ruling all the other races in the Balkans.

THE CONFLICT WITH IMPERIALISM

As the Committee expanded and came into contact with this system, a mutual antagonism manifested itself at once. Naturally, between the imperialist propaganda of the Bulgarian army officers and the socialism of the Committee's program there could be no sympathy. At first there was only friction, then quarreling, and finally there was an appeal to armed force. Bulgars fought Bulgars with a bitterness never exceeded by any race hatred. The superior armament of the imperialist bands gave them the first advantage, but at last the people in Bulgaria got wind of the true situation. Now imperialism is an idea especially hateful to the Bulgarian temperament. Even that spirit of nationalism which we call "patriotism," and sometime "jingoism" and which they call chauvinism is entirely absent among the Bulgarians. Therefore when the Macedonians in Bulgaria began protesting against the situation in Macedonia, public indignation compelled the stout general directing the Macedonian "revolution" from behind his desk in Sofia to recall his forces from the field and disband them.

But unfortunately there were other nations in the Balkans with imperialistic ambitions. Serbia also began sending armed bands across her frontier which soon came into contact with the bands of the Committee. By that time the Committee had grown to be quite a power and the Servian bands never got far below that district known as old Servia. Here, too, bloody conflicts took place. While the Serbs are also Slavs by race, in temperament they differ somewhat from the Bulgars. By nature they are very democratic, but for reasons already stated they cannot forget that they once cut some figure in history. A book like "The Adventures of Bie Ganio" would quite upset them. If they could laugh more at themselves others would laugh at them less. It is true that a visiting Bulgar among them would be cordially received and they never showed any

fervent enthusiasm over the exploits of the Servian bands in Macedonia, but on the other hand they did not compel their government to recall them.

THE SPIRIT OF THE GREEKS

It was with the Greeks that the Committee fought its hardest battles. Not only the Greek Government in Athens but the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople, the two working hand in hand, instigated such a propaganda of terror in lower Macedonia that even the indignation of the Turks was aroused, although it was the policy of the Turkish authorities to encourage these campaigns against the Committee. During a local uprising in Monastir, in 1903, Greek priests would accompany the Turkish soldiers in their punitive expeditions against the revolting villages and point out the principal sympathizers of the Committee among the peasants. So ferocious was one of these priests, one of the assistants of the Greek bishop of Castoria, that an old Turkish major said openly, before his troops, when this priest proposed to accompany him on an expedition, "I don't want him with me; we can disgrace ourselves without him." The Bulgarian and Servian bands seldom harmed the peasants, but the Greek bands were especially vindictive against the villages known to have sheltered the bands of the Committee. They would enter such communities in broad daylight and massacre everybody in sight, women and children as well as old men.

In Greece there was apparently no restraining public opinion; even the massacres were openly endorsed by press and public meetings and the perpetrators, on their return, were feasted and heroized in public. The lateral split, running through all the other Balkan peoples, separating the progressives from the reactionaries, seemed not to touch Greece. As a people they stood pat, behind Church and State, shouting the cry of a reestablished Byzantine Empire, a reborn Hellas, that should rule the neighboring barbarians as their ancestors of old did. In Turkey, too, they stood pat; rather have the Turks in power than give the Committee any opportunity to put its socialistic principles into practice.

PROGRESSIVISM AMONG THE TURKS

Except in accidental clashes with patrols the Committee's bands fought very little with the Turks.

In spite of their religion there is among the Turks a powerful progressive element. When

Young Turkey proclaimed the constitution which declared the equality of all natives of the Ottoman Empire, the Committee disbanded its armed forces and its leaders were received down in Salonica by the Young Turks with open arms. Yani Sandansky, the Bulgarian socialist and former "brigand chief" under the Committee, leading Young Turkey's army into Constantinople to dethrone a Turkish Sultan was symbolical of the ideals of all the progressive elements in the land, for years imbedded in the constitution and the program of the Committee.

But Young Turkey was unable to swing the masses of Islam into the ranks of the progressives. The Turks fell back into the reactionary camp. Once more the Committee was obliged to take up arms and Sandansky was again an outlaw and a "brigand." Had the Young Turks succeeded he would not now be fighting with the allies in Macedonia. There would have been no war, for what the people of Bulgaria and Servia want to accomplish, through the present war, would have been accomplished by the Turks themselves. Ferdinand and his inner clique are only following their people now, they are not leading them, just as the Greek Church is now following the Greek people against its old partner, the Sultan.

Apparently Greece has lined up with the progressives, along with its old enemy, Sandansky, and what he represents. If she has done so from real sympathy and not as a result of a cold bargain with the stronger side, then the Greek people have indeed undergone a change within themselves incomprehensible to one who knew them six years ago, a change that bodes no good to their Church.

For ten years the Committee fought Bulgarian, Servian, and Greek invasion and waxed powerful on the fight. Now it stands in the center of the alliance, its fifth member, inconspicuous to outsiders, but permeating its partners with the spirit of which it has always been the physical incarnation, the only spirit that could bring them all together. While prophecies are always a gamble, this is absolutely certain: You could not get Sandansky to fight for a cause that did not stand squarely for universal democracy, and he is fighting now as he never fought before. In the heat of the excitement Ferdinand may be permitted to crown himself Czar of all the Bulgars, but when the Bulgarian people have cooled down from their present ardor they will receive this proclamation as they received "The Adventures of Bie Ganie," with laughter.

FRANCE'S WAY OF CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

BY ANDRÉ TRIDON

THERE is something apparently illogical in the attitude the French people assume toward their Presidents. It can be stated without exaggeration that nowhere else on earth is there a ruler more completely shorn of all authority than France's first magistrate. On the other hand, we doubt whether any magistrate, first or last in dignity, is selected anywhere with greater care and a closer scrutiny of his past life, public and private. While not only the United States but the whole world as well is familiar with the physical appearance and the biography of the several Americans competing for the Presidential honors, not only the world but a large number of Frenchmen have to be told on the morrow of a presidential election who the obscure man was who obtained a majority of their representatives' votes.

No one outside of Parliamentary and political circles knew anything about Loubet when he came back from Versailles the elect of Congress, besides the fact that he was president of the Senate. No one suspected that Carnot would become a candidate at the eleventh hour, being elected, as he was, owing to the withdrawal of two acknowledged favorites.

Barring Carnot and Faure, who will be remembered for the former's violent and the latter's mysterious death, whose memory, however, will endure less than that of Caserio or Mme. Steinheil, all erstwhile presidents of France relapse at the expiration of their term into an obscurity deeper than that from which they emerged. France does not even do as much for her ex-presidents as do Latin American countries, which send them abroad as plenipotentiaries. She simply forgets them. Where is Loubet and who cares to know where he is? Who will, after next February, recall Fallières' first name?

NO NOMINATING CONVENTIONS; NO PRE- ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

France knows no party conventions, she knows not the thundering storm that breaks out after a magic name has been spoken before delirious crowds. There are no platforms submitted to the nation's approval.

For a French president is not the elect of a party; he has to hold himself above party disputes. "Where do you belong?" an usher asked Lamartine when the unpractical poet had been elected to Parliament. "Right, center, left or extreme left?"

"I'll take the ceiling," Lamartine answered.

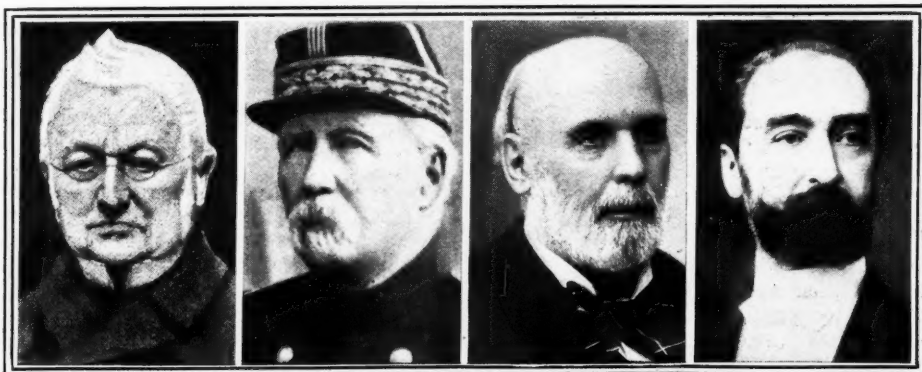
Unless a French president takes his seat "on the ceiling," unless he refrains from expressing partisan views or evincing a bias for certain legislation, an angered nation may clamor loudly for his resignation. Thus France protects herself against the possible return of monarchs or dictators. This is why no president of all parties and of all Frenchmen can have been a so-called leader at any time of his life. This is why also there cannot be any pre-election campaign with the American connotation of the word. While presidential candidates, or, I should rather say, presidential possibilities, may travel a good deal in the months preceding the great trial, attend many public festivities and accept many dinner invitations, their public utterances do not make over-lively reading.

They generally expatiate on the civic beauties of the city, remit a small contribution for the local hospital, kiss a few babies, and make themselves otherwise agreeable.

Some of the men in training for the presidency take up some harmless economic fad in which they acquire the reputation of being specialists and they are expected, whatever the occasion of their public appearance may be, to refer to their hobby unavoidably and exclusively. Thus Paul Deschanel's name is always associated with the idea of mutuality. Wherever he goes the burden of his speech is the benefit to be derived from mutual aid. Raymond Poincaré's special line of research is solidarity, quite as vague and uncompromising a topic as mutuality.

LIMITED POWER OF THE FRENCH EXECUTIVE

The average Frenchman is totally indifferent to presidential changes for one excellent



THIERS (1871-73)

MACMAHON (1873-79)

GRÉVY (1879-87)

CARNOT (1887-94)

THE FIRST FOUR PRESIDENTS OF THE PRESENT FRENCH REPUBLIC

reason: Such changes cannot in any way affect his position or his financial status. France is governed by ministers who only retain their mandate by sufferance of the Deputies. Premiers may precipitate war or conclude peace; they may propose or fight measures affecting the economic welfare of the voters. Ministers appoint office-holders on the recommendation of deputies. Therefore a Frenchman is vitally interested in Parliamentary elections and cabinet affairs.

The only individuals who pay any attention to the President's thoughts and ways are the wretches locked up in death cells, for the only act of authority the national figurehead may perform without incurring criticism, is the commutation of death sentences into life sentences. Technically he may veto any measure passed by the two houses but should he ever avail himself of this privilege barricades would rise and stones would fly in the neighborhood of the Executive Palace.

Casimir-Périer's son told the writer a few days ago that his father's unwillingness to accept the humiliating consequences of such a position had led to his resignation. The Cabinet had more than once given out to the press presidential decrees signed by Casimir-Périer of which Casimir-Périer not only did not approve but of which he had had no intimation whatever. Finally, when Premier Dupuy was overthrown Casimir-Périer, tired of the ridiculous posture in which he was kept for several days, (Dupuy refusing, in accordance with his constitutional privilege, to endorse the presidential decree appointing his successor) decided to exert his activity and his talents in a more thankful field of endeavor than the first magistracy of the republic.

HOW MEN MAY BE DISQUALIFIED FOR THE PRESIDENCY

This is why a well-known, popular individual could never fill the presidential position in France, to the complete satisfaction of all the parties. His personality would project itself in too strong a relief on the soft gray background of his official life. Any rash act committed in his youth, any indiscretion reported by gossips, might disqualify a man for the position. He might suffer a relapse and become rash again or some one might take advantage of that past indiscretion and force him through undue influence to depart from his neutral attitude.

Presidential ethics stands in violent contrast to the notoriously lax ethics of Parliamentary life. Grévy's career was at an end when a relative of his stood convicted of trafficking in decorations. A divorcée and the president of too many Egyptian and South American banks, Caillaux, remains eligible to hold any portfolio, but never could he think of running for President. Rouvier was to be a candidate at the last presidential elections; Delcassé threatened to divulge the shady means employed by Rouvier in conjunction with certain German interests to compel him to resign; Rouvier decided to withdraw his candidacy. Gabriel Hanotaux will never be presidential timber; gossip touched his life twice and last June his trip to this country enabled the authorities to remove to a distant province a woman who was seeking him, revolver in hand, in the lobbies of the Palais Bourbon.

Alexandre Ribot's hasty attitude in whitewashing too many public men implicated in the Panama scandal hasn't been forgotten yet



CASIMIR-PÉRIER (1894-95)

FAURE (1895-99)

LOUBET (1899-1906)

FALLIÈRES (1906-)

MORE RECENT PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

and has disqualified him several times in the presidential race.

Charles Dupuy's "coincidences," carefully recalled by his enemies, killed long ago his chances of being elected: He is "unlucky." Under his prime ministership Carnot was assassinated, Casimir-Périer had to resign, Felix Faure died an embarrassing death, and Baron Christiani damaged with his cane Loubet's silk hat. Thus do cynics and free-thinkers suddenly evince a moral fiber and a superstitious streak in the hour of choosing the nation's chief clerk.

This eliminates a good many public men. The names of Combes and Clemenceau have been mentioned among the presidential possibilities. Combes' age and his record as an uncompromising anti-clerical, and the many enemies Clemenceau, "killer of ministries," managed to make for himself are decisive arguments against their election.

Léon Bourgeois has many friends and a clean record. He is a brilliant statesman of a philosophical turn of mind and was in 1906 the most popular candidate.

Although Léon Bourgeois is no longer in power in Parliament, for the so-called Radical party, of which he has been for so many years the recognized leader, is at present a dwindling group, as most of its members have evolved toward Socialism, he is probably unwilling to submit to the lethal process of election to the presidency.

A thoroughly safe man who would be elected if the conditions obtaining in 1906 were to obtain in 1913 is Antonin Dubost. As he is not identified with any definite political movement, was a minister only once, and crept up slowly from grade to grade and to the lofty though insignificant

position of a president of the Senate, which he has occupied since 1906, he would be the ideal candidate. It is said, however, that the leaders of all Parliamentary groups have decided not to elect him for one reason: He would be the third president of the Senate to become first magistrate of France; for Loubet and Fallières occupied that post. If this became a tradition the selection of presidents would be gradually taken away from the Deputies and left altogether in the hands of the Senate.

AMONG THE POSSIBILITIES,—DESCHANEL, POINCARÉ

Following our process of elimination we arrive finally at two men either of whom is almost certain to become president of the French Republic,—Paul Deschanel and Raymond Poincaré, younger men than any of the other candidates, for they are respectively fifty-five and fifty-two years of age. Deschanel has been in training for the presidency almost all his life and somehow he is expected to be president sometime,—if not now at least in seven or in fourteen years from now. The nation will take his election whenever it takes place as a matter of course, as it took his election to the Academy and to the presidency of the Chamber.

Poincaré, on the other hand, never was mentioned seriously and insistingly as a presidential possibility until this year. His journey to Russia and especially two incidents which marked that trip have had a strangely powerful influence in shaping public opinion. As the *Condé* was steaming off the Mecklenburg Coast the German fleet was ordered to proceed toward the French man-of-war; the three largest units flying the white *pavillon*

with a black cross of German admirals, hoisted the French tricolor on their main-mast and fired a salute of nineteen guns.

At the close of a banquet in St. Petersburg, Minister Kokovtsov greeted Poincaré as the next ruler of the French nation. This was in bad taste but the French are still forgiving the Russians a great many things. The approval of Germany and Russia means a great deal for a candidate to the presidency.

Raymond Poincaré was born in Bar-le-Duc fifty-two years ago. His family was of the typically middle class type. His father was a civil engineer and his mother's father enjoyed a local reputation from having been elected nine consecutive times to the Chamber of Deputies.

Young Raymond attended the Bar-le-Duc lycée and then was sent to complete his classical studies at the Louis-le-Grand lycée in Paris. At eighteen he won his M.A. sheepskin and began to read law.

Poincaré was admitted to the bar when only twenty, but no one was rash enough to retain him as an attorney. This in spite of his ready flow of eloquence. That ready flow was not at the time allowed to inundate anything but lawyers' clubs.

Now the public has found out all about his wonderful fluency and Poincaré is in great demand for all public functions where verbosity and grandiloquence help fill up programs. Poincaré and Deschanel are always scheduled to unveil statues, to lay cornerstones, to open exhibitions, to welcome delegations, to preside over commencement exercises, and they always elicit a torrent of applause by enunciating in a musical voice, in new combinations of words that are not new, incontrovertible statements which flatter every member of the audience and never antagonize any one's convictions.

Twenty years ago, however, things were not going so smoothly. Poincaré had to take a little position in a big attorney's office and at night wrote court news for the *Voltaire*, where he had as co-workers some of Gambetta's radical friends.

The two employments combined brought him an income of about 150 francs a month. He was saved from that unpleasant situation by another Bar-le-Duc man, Jules Develle, who on becoming Minister of Agriculture took him as his official secretary.

In 1887, a deputy of his native town having died, Poincaré hastened home and was elected to Parliament. For three mortal years, however, the Speaker managed to ignore the youthful member from Bar-le-Duc.

In the meantime the youthful member learned a few things, particularly about finances. An influential friend secured him the enviable position of reporter of the Committee on Finances and at last on October 24, 1890, being then thirty, Poincaré addressed the Chamber for the first time. His future was assured, for France and her Parliament will always listen with patience and gusto to a good speaker.

Poincaré was reelected four times; in 1892 the exclusive budget committee welcomed him and in 1893 made him its general reporter. Poincaré was then, as they say in France, "ministérable," that is to say a member of the highest political inner circle. The same year he was entrusted by Premier Dupuy with the portfolio of Public Education, which he kept about six months. Then the Dupuy Ministry fell, came back into power, and Poincaré once more presided over the education of young France for ten months, first under Dupuy, then under Ribot.

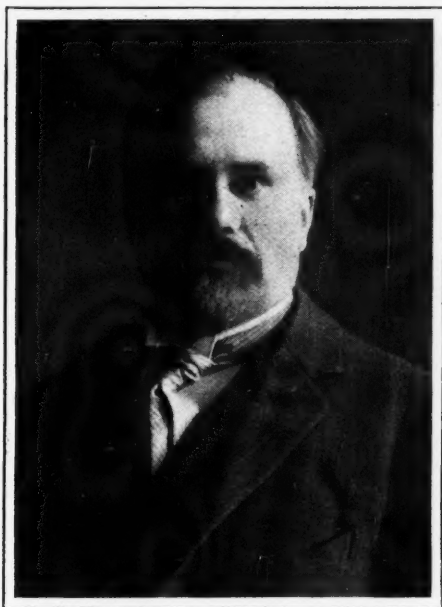
After Ribot's retirement every premier endeavored to secure the services of Poincaré. Too shrewd to compromise his future by entering into dangerous combinations, Poincaré remained in his tent while the Dreyfus storm was raging and while France was taking a few Socialist ministers on approval.

Aside from his political activity Poincaré has succeeded in building up an enormous law practice. The law firm of Poincaré is perhaps the largest in Paris. In his leisure time he composes essays which grace the stodgier class of quarterlies. Two volumes of such literary productions, "Idées Contemporaines," and "Questions et Figures Politiques," in which the careful statesman displays his marvelous knowledge of modern politics without ever giving vent to any personal views, made him a fit candidate for a seat among the Immortals.

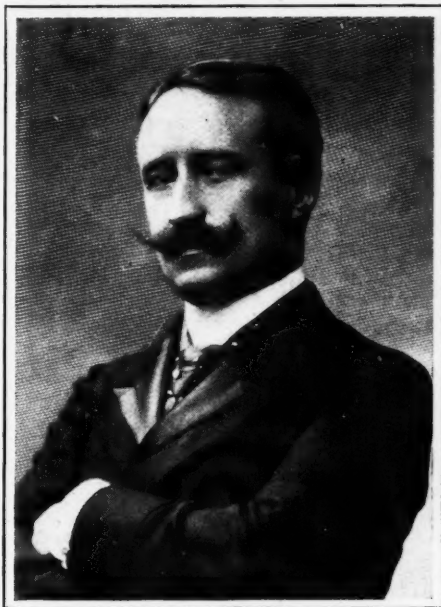
THE ARISTOCRATIC DESCHANEL

Deschanel's biography is far less interesting than Poincaré's. Deschanel was spared the years of struggle from which his rival emerged only by desperate application to his chosen work. Deschanel was born in Brussels where his father, Emile Deschanel, famous as a critic and lecturer, had been exiled by Louis Napoleon.

The German victories of '71 opened to the exiles the road to Paris. Emile Deschanel resumed his lectures at the Sorbonne and Collège de France. In 1876 the erstwhile "red kid" became secretary to De Marcère,



RAYMOND POINCARÉ



PAUL DESCHANÉL

THE TWO LEADING CANDIDATES FOR THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY

Minister of the Interior. The following year he was offered a similar position with Premier Jules Simon. At twenty-one he became a sub-prefect; at twenty-eight a deputy. In 1896 he rose to the vice-presidency and two years after to the presidency of the Chamber; five legislatures have retained him in that position with only one intermission.

Paul Deschanel married Germaine Brice, the granddaughter of Camille Doucet, "perpetual secretary" of the Académie Française, and the literary world felt that the time was near when Paul Deschanel would don the green swallowtail of the Immortals. And he did do it very soon after.

Deschanel is invariably courteous and dignified, well tailored and well groomed. He is no longer "the red kid." In fact he has so studiously modeled his ways of thinking, speaking and acting after the ways of the two faubourgs that he has not quite kept up with the times. And this is where Poincaré may gain a certain advantage over him. For Poincaré has just enough radicalism in his make-up to be called a progressive without being hopelessly "revolutionary."

Paul Deschanel makes up for this weakness in another way. There is one of the Parliamentary committees about which very little

is heard in France and out of France, the committee on Foreign Affairs. Ministers of Foreign Affairs may come and go, the committee lasts at least as long as each legislature and very seldom changes its personnel. When the Minister of Foreign Affairs is dealing with a power he is little more than the mouthpiece of the committee. The sovereigns of England, Germany and Spain may have forgotten who the three men were who held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs during the acute stage of the Moroccan crisis. They certainly remember that the chairman of the committee on foreign relations was the courteous, diplomatic Paul Deschanel. The part he played as chairman of the committee has made Deschanel *persona grata* with the various European courts.

Deschanel has kept a diplomatic but unfortunate silence on every great political question of the day. Poincaré, however, was fortunate enough to take his stand on the popular side of the electoral reform known as "proportional representation" and France seems to expect the millennium from that reform.

After all France may yet elect a candidate whose name is never heard without a smile of gentle irony, Monsieur Pams, manufacturer of a well-advertised brand of cigarette paper.

EUCKEN, GERMANY'S INSPIRED IDEALISTIC PHILOSOPHER

BY THOMAS SELTZER

THE complaint of philosophers that the modern world turns a deaf ear to their teachings is rapidly becoming antiquated. William James, Bergson and Eucken are as popular to-day as Kant, Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling were in their days. They are known throughout the civilized world almost as well as in their native countries. Most wonderful of all is the fact that the philosophies of this great triumvirate are idealistic philosophies. What becomes of the contention that exact science has made us materialistic?

Rudolf Eucken is now in this country, having come here as exchange professor to deliver his new message personally to the students of Harvard. It is quite fitting that Eucken should preach his gospel in the seat of learning in which James evolved his philosophy of Pragmatism. The Pragmatism of James and the Activism of Eucken touch each other at essential points. Both lay the chief stress upon action and life; both look with suspicion upon mere speculation; both regard the intellect alone as inadequate to explain the world and the meaning of life, and to furnish a proper guide for human conduct.

But the differences between Eucken and James are nevertheless extremely important. Pragmatism says: Do you want to know whether a thing is true or not? See whether it has value to life, whether it is helpful. Activism says: No. Truth cannot be made to hinge only upon such a decision. Truth is truth, it is absolute, and therefore it cannot depend upon our experiences. But activity is the means by which we attain truth. It is through our actions, provided they are directed in the right channels, that truth reveals itself to us intimately and intuitively. We learn to know the truth by acting and by living, not by thinking and speculating about it.

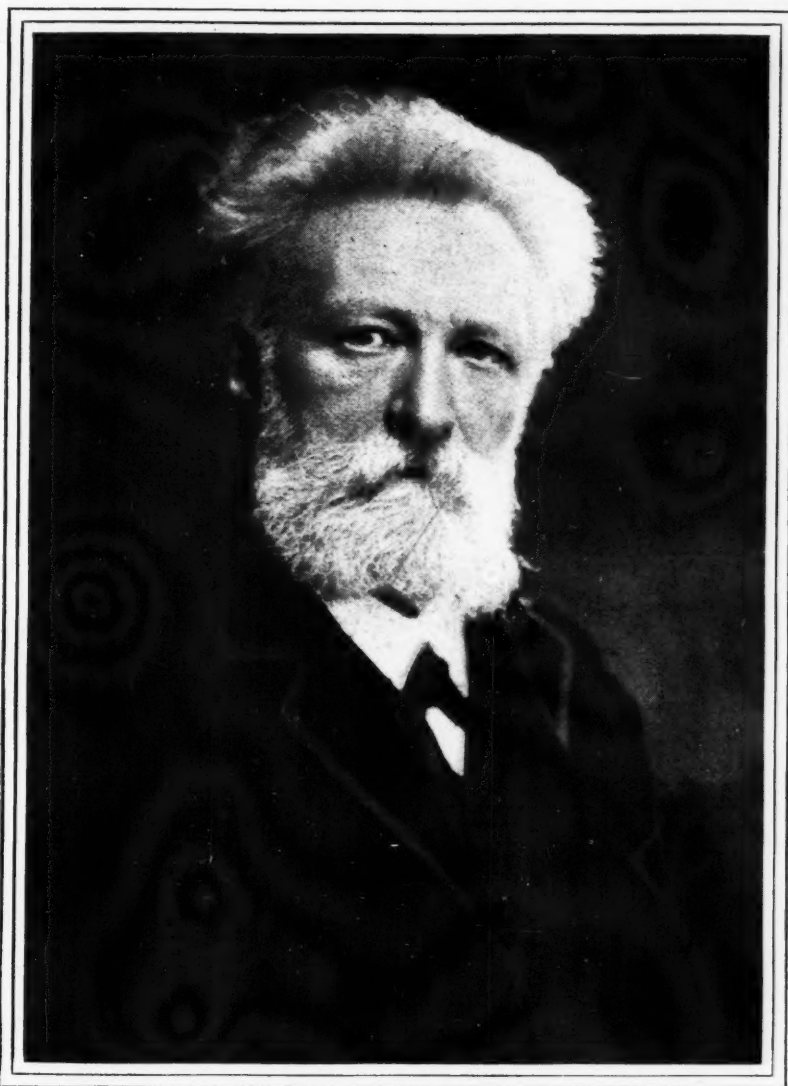
The question, then, is how are we to find the right course of conduct, in order that, by following it, we may gain the truth, the reality, the higher life. The answer to this question constitutes the distinctive feature of Eucken's philosophy. Eucken is not a pantheist, he does not believe that God is in everything, that everything is divine. He admits, nay, he urges very strongly, that

there is evil in the world as well as good. It is this doctrine that forms the basis of his activistic philosophy. If the world were all good, as the pantheistic optimists tell us it is, then there is no room for action, for striving, for progress. But it is not so. There is evil in the world which has to be overcome, and hence life is a fight, a conflict, a struggle to overcome the evil and develop the good. Man has to learn to free himself from nature, from the material. Zoologically, man is at the apex of evolution, spiritually he is at the bottom. Let him free himself from the coarse demands of the merely animal, let him struggle against the sordid and the low. This is the first stage of real progress. Then he can begin to live the spiritual life, developing it within himself and rising higher and higher until he becomes a part of the universal spiritual life.

The spiritual life is the sole reality of the world. It transcends nature and matter. By attaining it man gains freedom and personality. But no matter how high on the spiritual scale he rises he must remain constantly active, for the spiritual life is infinite, and there are no limits to the development of the spiritual personality.

In developing the spiritual life man acquires not only freedom and personality, he also gains immortality. The spiritual life being immortal, he, as part of it, must likewise be immortal. Eucken's philosophy, therefore, grants immortality only to those personalities which have freed themselves from the merely natural. Those who cling to the flesh are doomed to die and disappear without leaving a trace behind them.

In Eucken's philosophy religion naturally occupies a prominent position. There are, he holds, two main classes of religions—the religions of law and the religions of redemption. The religions of law conceive of God as outside the world, laying down the law to men, and rewarding or punishing them for obedience or transgression. Of the redemptive religions the Buddhist is merely negative. The only duty it imposes is that of renunciation. The world is vain and evil, and so Buddhism leads merely to renuncia-

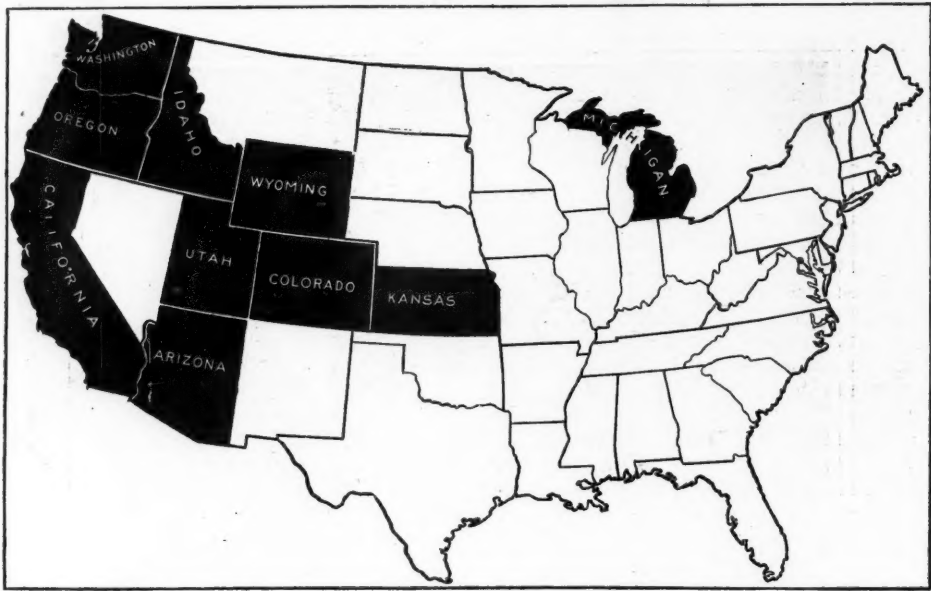


DR. RUDOLF EUCKEN, THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHER NOW LECTURING AT HARVARD

tion of the world and of self. Christianity, also a religion of redemption, is far superior to Buddhism. It is both negative and positive. While recognizing the misery and ills of the world it regards them not as inherent in the universal order, which in itself is Divine, but as the consequences of abuse. The teachings of Christianity, therefore, involve a life of action and striving; the evils are to be overcome and a higher life attained. The Christian God is the absolute spiritual truth; in Him the free personality finds its realization. Divested of the merely human and temporary elements which have been added to it in the

course of time, Christianity is the highest and noblest type of religion and furnishes a basis for the absolute religion. For just as there is but one and only truth, so there can be but one and only absolute true religion.

Rudolf Eucken was born in 1846, and has been since 1874 Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena, where he has attracted many students from various countries to his lectures. His personality is quite in keeping with his philosophy. He is energetic, of an earnest, zealous temperament, and more of an inspired ethical preacher than a dispassionate academic scholar.



THE TEN STATES THAT HAVE CONFERRED GENERAL SUFFRAGE ON WOMEN

VOTES FOR THREE MILLION WOMEN

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

ELECTION DAY, November 5, 1912, will ever be notable in the annals of the movement for woman suffrage as marking the greatest victory it has yet achieved. With the closing of the polls approximately 1,500,000 women voters had been added to an equal number who were already entitled to cast their ballots that day, and the six States where women have this privilege had been increased to ten. Michigan, Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona were the four that had just enfranchised women and placed them on an exact political equality with men. Now, with women enfranchised in all the neighbor States, the Nevada Legislature of 1913 may be counted on to submit a suffrage amendment to the voters, who are likely to accept it. Wisconsin had followed the example set by Ohio two months before and given a majority against the constitutional amendment. This action was not in the slightest degree due to any inferiority of the campaign of the women in its behalf, for in both of these States this was longer and more strenuously waged, more money was expended and more women were engaged in it than in any of the four where the amendment received a majority vote. The difference in the result was caused entirely by the difference in con-

ditions existing in the States. Some of these conditions will be suggested in this article.

CAMPAIGNING WITH AUTOMOBILES

The methods of work were practically the same in all. During the summer months the campaigning was largely out of doors, and automobiles loaned by friends of the cause played a prominent part, the women traveling thousands of miles. Their arrival in a town was advertised beforehand by the local suffragists and when with flags and banners flying they dashed into the park or public square the crowd was on hand to receive them. Sometimes they were met by the mayor or other officials who climbed into the car and made speeches. In some States they were accompanied by the cornetist, Miss Rose Bowers, of Oregon, and frequently a brass band met them at the edge of town and escorted them in. In the large cities at night they went from point to point and wherever they saw a crowd collected they stopped and held a meeting. If they came across a parade they joined it. At the noon hour they went to factories and wherever they could reach the workingmen and women.

Their audiences numbered from a few hun-



MRS. ABIGAIL S. DUNIWAY
(Oregon)

REV. OLYMPIA BROWN
(Wisconsin)

MRS. CLARA B. ARTHUR
(Michigan)



MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON
(Ohio)

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS
(Arizona)

MRS. WILLIAM A. JOHNSTON
(Kansas)

PRESIDENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATIONS IN STATES WHERE THE
CAMPAIGNS OF 1912 WERE CONDUCTED

dred to four or five thousand and sometimes as many as a dozen automobiles were *en tour* in a State. Amusement parks were visited, picnics without number, Chautauquas, conventions of all kinds, and even the circus was utilized. In hardly a single instance did these parties meet with discourteous treatment; it was a picturesque form of campaigning which caught the fancy of the people and they entered into the spirit of it. When the weather was inclement the speakers went into school-houses, churches, halls, courthouses, and,

where it seemed necessary, into parlors, but it was largely an outdoor campaign.

State and county fairs offered an excellent chance for propaganda, of which the women largely availed themselves, visiting, for instance, seventy-five in Wisconsin. By permission of the managers they would furnish a tent or booth or veranda with pretty wicker chairs and tables in charge of attractive women who served tea and suffrage literature impartially; then their best speakers would go to the grand stand and address the



MISS JANE ADDAMS

(One of the most effective speakers for the suffrage cause in the Middle West)

crowds, who would forsake everything else on the grounds. Mrs. La Follette spoke at nearly half of these fairs and also accompanied her husband, the Senator, on his political tour of the State, speaking for suffrage. Their talented daughter, Fola, the actress, assisted through the summer and autumn. The Rev. Olympia Brown, State president, at the head of the movement in Wisconsin for the past forty years, directed the work and made speeches throughout the campaign. The younger women were headed by Miss Ada L. James, daughter of State Senator D. G. James, sponsor of the suffrage bill.

A prominent and significant feature was the large number of women from other States who went to the assistance of those in the States where campaigns were in progress. In Ohio, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the president, daughter of Ezra B. Taylor, who represented the Cleveland district in Congress for twenty years, had the help of organizers and speakers from twelve States. Among the scores who went into Wisconsin and Michigan were Miss Jane Addams, Mrs.

May Wright Sewall, honorary president of the International Council of Women; Miss Breckinridge, dean of women at Chicago University; the State Suffrage presidents of Washington, Nebraska, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey and other States; Mrs. Glendower Evans, Miss Zona Gale, and the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, of Boston; Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, the well-known lawyer, and Mrs. Stewart, wife of Oliver Stewart, M. C., of Chicago; Mrs. Pauline Steinem, of the Toledo school board; Dr. Mary Thomas, dean of women in the State University of South Dakota; presidents of several boarding schools for girls and a number of women college professors. Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, president of the Michigan Association had among her ablest State assistants the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy, of Australia, and those veterans in the cause, Mrs. Helen Philleo Jenkins, Mrs. Mary L. Doe, and Mrs. May S. Knaggs.

The Kansas campaign has been one of the most interesting under the direction of the president, Mrs. W. A. Johnston, wife of the Chief Justice, and Mrs. W. R. Stubbs, wife of the Governor. A small army of Kansas women have given devoted service and this has been one of the most thoroughly organized States, which partly accounts for the splendid majority of over 50,000. Women from eight or ten States have been helping here, among them Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Association; Dr. Helen Brewster Owens, of Cornell University, and Mrs. Clara B. Colby, editor of the *Woman's Tribune*. In Arizona, the president, Mrs. Frances W. Munds, has had besides the loyal women of her own State a number of experienced workers from California. The same is true of Oregon, where the venerable president, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, is now seeing the reward of fifty years of effort. Dr. Esther Pohl and Mrs. H. W. Coe were prominent workers here. In all of these States the amendment has had the strong support of the College Women's League, W. C. T. U., Federation of Women's Clubs, Teachers' Association, Grange and Federation of Labor, and of many prominent men in official and professional life.

BREAKING INTO THE MIDDLE WEST

The victories in Kansas and Michigan mark the first break in the middle section of the country. Of the two that in Michigan is perhaps more important, as it puts an end to the oft-repeated assertion that no State

east of the Mississippi River could be carried for woman suffrage. The result in the surrounding States must necessarily be an increase of effort on the part of the women and an advance in favorable sentiment among the men. The steady extension of woman suffrage in the States of the Far West justifies this opinion. A difficulty will be faced, however, which did not exist in Michigan. Women can be enfranchised only by amending the constitution of the State and that of Illinois by its own provisions makes amending for any purpose practically impossible. In Minnesota and Indiana an amendment requires a majority of the highest number of votes cast at the election, and as this is usually for President or Governor, these States have virtually put it out of their power to amend their constitutions unless a special election is held for the purpose. The same situation exists in Nebraska and so the only hope for the suffragists must lie in having the question submitted at other than the general elections.

OPPOSITION OF THE LIQUOR INTERESTS

Nevada will doubtless be the next State to enfranchise women. In the Middle West, however, Iowa offers the most promising field and the chances here will be vastly increased by the splendid victory just gained in Kansas. In the character of the population and in general conditions these two States are very much alike, but there is the great disadvantage in Iowa of its large distillery interests. It is not alone those directly engaged in the manufacture of liquor but the farmers also, who find in these distilleries the best market for their grain, that would expect to be affected by woman suffrage. These interests have been powerful enough thus far to prevent the Legislature from submitting the question to the voters, although a very representative body of women have been appealing to it for more than forty years and there is evidently a strong public sentiment in favor.

The result of the opposition of what is termed the liquor interests has been very evident in the defeat of woman suffrage in Wisconsin on November 5, and in Ohio on September 3. While there were other sources of opposition that was the main factor, as the breweries of those States are among the principal industries. Their most effectual method was to make the voters believe that the women would close every saloon and deprive the individual man of even his glass of



DR. ANNA SHAW

(An active campaigner for woman suffrage in many States)

beer or wine and they circulated thousands of leaflets to this effect, purporting to be issued by the temperance societies. This could not fail to secure an opposing vote from the immense German population, and in Ohio from the hundreds of thousands from Southern Europe employed in the mining regions and iron manufacturers. This kind of argument, however, can only be made disastrously effective where there are large cities and these do not exist in Iowa. With the exception of Des Moines, which has less than 99,000 inhabitants, the State has none that reaches 40,000, and when the Legislature votes to submit the amendment it will undoubtedly be adopted. North Dakota is regarded as a very promising State, more so than South Dakota, and a vigorous campaign will soon be commenced there and also in Montana. At present Oklahoma is not considered as offering much hope for woman suffrage or any other reform measure.

WHICH STATES NEXT?

The discussion of this subject is no longer academic. The winning of two more States will see women enfranchised in one-fourth of all in the Union, as they now can vote in ten

on exactly the same terms as men and are eligible for every office. In addition to the four gained at the recent election are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California, named in the order in which they gave the franchise to women. The only question now to be considered is which will be the next States to grant this privilege and when will all of them do so? Although the agitation began in the Eastern States fifty years ago, has been continuous and has assumed large proportions, and although until recently there has been almost none in the South, it is not improbable that one or more Southern States may enfranchise their women before this has been done by a single State east of the Alleghany Mountains. The greatest drawback in that section has been the apathy of the women themselves. They have not had among them an enormous body of workingwomen to suffer the disadvantage of being without political influence; in all respects they have been slower to catch the progressive spirit of the age than the more highly stimulated women of the North, and they have been lulled by the tradition that chivalry was all women needed. Any tendency toward a desire for the suffrage has been promptly suppressed by the men, but all of a sudden they themselves have been brought face to face with a serious situation.

With the exception of Arizona, which is too new to be classified, all of these ten States which have enfranchised their women have heretofore been regarded as normally Republican, and an enormous body of voters has been added to the electorate, which, under past political conditions, would have been likely to give Republican majorities. While this would not directly affect the ratio of Presidential electors or members of Congress it indicates a tremendous influence in politics which will have to be considered and can only be offset by enfranchising a corresponding number of women who would supposedly be Democratic, and that would mean to give the suffrage to those of the Southern States.

The chief reason for the general interest among American women which began about four years ago was undoubtedly the revolution among those in England, but the changed attitude among men was unquestionably the result of the "insurgent" movement in the political parties. This found its first concrete expression in the submission in 1910 of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage in Washington and its adoption by a vote of two to one throughout the State.

The men had repudiated the domination of the party "bosses" and wanted the support of women to enable them to hold their ground. A second and even more conspicuous example was given the next year in California, where the women had been vainly appealing to the Legislature for fifteen years to submit a suffrage amendment. The men of the State had thrown off the yoke of the Southern Pacific Railroad and other corporations, and in spite of the party "machines" had elected H. W. Johnson Governor and a progressive Legislature. The amendment was submitted with votes to spare and carried at a special election in October.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS

In neither Oregon nor Arizona would the Republican and Democratic Legislatures submit the suffrage amendment and the women had to secure the necessary petitions for initiative and referendum. And so in Kansas and Michigan the women had gone in vain for years to the Legislatures, but largely through the influence of Governor Stubbs in the one State and Governor Osborn in the other their measure was sent to the electors and accepted. It makes no difference under what party name in any of these States the Governors and Legislatures were elected, their action was the result of freedom from the corrupt influences that long had dominated both of the old parties and of the progressive spirit which really desired reformation in government. They doubtless believed in the justice of giving a vote to women, but their efforts were not wholly altruistic, as they knew that political reforms were short-lived among men and that the only way to secure a permanent force for progress was to enfranchise women. In these views they had the hearty sympathy of a large number of men, who expressed it by voting for the amendments.

For a generation the issues before the people have been principally of a material nature—tariff, currency, trusts, subsidies—which men felt entirely competent to settle without the assistance of women and which did not especially inspire women with a desire to have a voice in them. It needed the great moral, social and industrial questions which now form so large a part of the political program to show the vital need of the judgment and influence of both men and women, and it is on the crest of this wave now sweeping over the country that woman suffrage must be carried to victory.



ONE HOUR'S "SPORT" WHERE "GAME" WAS ABUNDANT

(Two hundred and eighteen wild geese slaughtered in an hour by two men with automatic shotguns in Glenn County, California)

SHALL UNCLE SAM PROTECT THE BIRDS?

BY GEORGE GLADDEN

DURING its coming session, Congress will be asked to pass a bill providing for the federal protection of migratory birds—that is, birds whose habitat is not fixed, and whose regular northern and southern migrations cause them to spend only part of the year in any one State or Territory. It is proposed that the Department of Agriculture shall be authorized to adopt suitable regulations to give effect to the protection, and with the vast amount of scientifically collected and carefully classified information which it has at its disposal in the records of its various bureaus, the department undoubtedly is well equipped to undertake this task.

THE APPEAL OF SCIENCE

It may be as well to explain at once that not mere sentimentalists, but expert and cautious naturalists, and other persons who have studied the subject from the standpoint of the scientist, are responsible for this inter-

esting and significant expression of the relatively recent and steadily strengthening conservation movement. They include such men as Dr. William T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoölogical Park; Mr. Madison Grant, Secretary of the New York Zoölogical Society; Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, dean of the Faculty of Pure Science, Columbia University; Dr. Theodore S. Palmer, of the United States Biological Survey; Mr. Edward H. Forbush, ornithologist of the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture; Mr. John B. Burnham, president of the American Game Protective and Propagation Association, and Mr. T. Gilbert Pearson, secretary of the National Association of Audubon Societies.

These men advocate the federal protection of migratory birds (and especially the insectivorous species), because it has been scientifically established that such birds constitute one of the most effective of nature's balancing agents, and are, therefore, a highly valua-

ble economic asset of the country as a whole; and because as a result of the inadequacy of, or the lack of uniformity in the present State laws dealing with this subject, the number of these birds is undoubtedly decreasing at an alarming rate. Thanks to the determined and efficient work of the National Association of Audubon Societies, and to the establishment of bird refuges by the Government, to say nothing of the splendid assistance recently given by Mrs. Russell Sage (which will be described further on in this article), a great deal has been done to protect both the insectivorous and the game birds in certain parts of the country; but much more remains to be done before the general and efficient protection which is needed is assured.

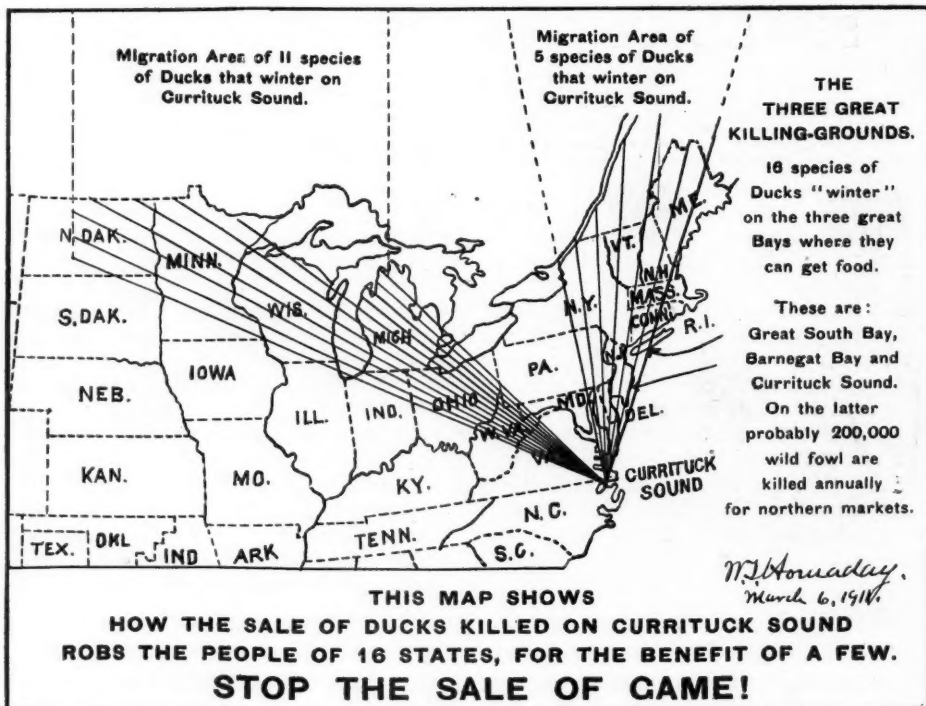
INCONSISTENCIES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN STATE LAWS

It seems clear that such protection can be most promptly secured, and most uniformly maintained by the federal government rather than by the State authorities. For evidence in support of this contention, one has only to consider certain existing conditions in various States. For example, in seven States,—Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South

Carolina, Tennessee, and Maryland,—the robin is legally a "game" bird, and as such is killed by the thousands annually, although it is undoubtedly one of the most valuable of the insectivorous birds, and for this reason—to say nothing of sentimental considerations—should be and is protected generally throughout the northern States. Again, four States,—Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania,—legalize the killing of the blackbird, which though it consumes some corn, is an industrious destroyer of many kinds of harmful insects and worms; while in five States,—Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Oklahoma,—there is no protection for cranes, and in twenty-six, doves (which are very valuable birds because they feed chiefly on weed-seeds) are slaughtered as "game."

LOCAL INFLUENCES AGAINST EFFICIENT PROTECTION

Instances of similar inconsistencies between the State laws having to do with insectivorous migratory birds could easily be multiplied, as many of them exist; and it is these flat and rather foolish contradictions which are cited as a cogent reason for vesting



WATERFOWL MIGRATION

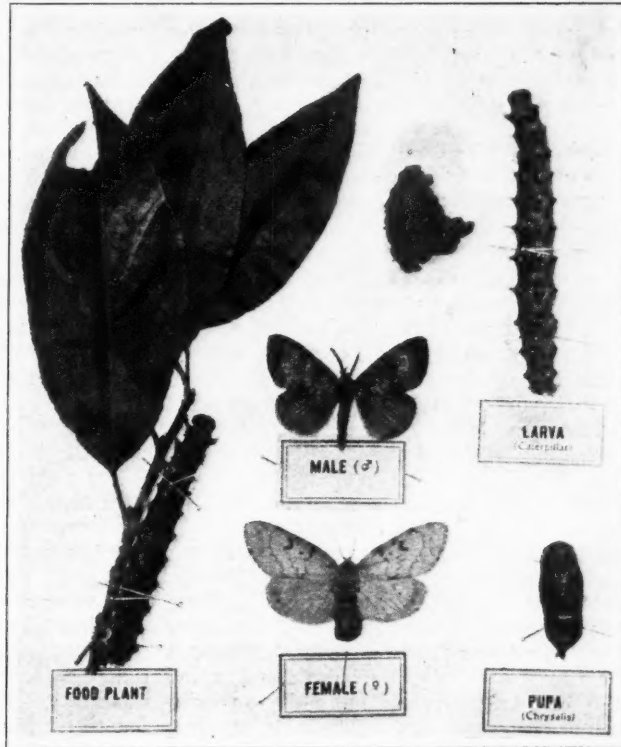
(Map used in support of the Bayne bill in New York)

in the federal government the power to make uniform laws on this subject. The benighted conditions which obtain in certain of the States—and especially in the southern States referred to—appear to be due to the interaction of indifference, ignorance, and sheer brutality. That is to say, the ignorance or brutality (or both) of the class of men who kill insectivorous birds wantonly or for the “pot,” finds an ally in the indifference or ignorance (or both) of the lawmakers for the communities concerned. Indeed, it is certain that the voice of the pot-hunter is often heard and heeded in State legislative chambers, and by officers appointed to enforce laws which interfere with the “sport” of a certain kind of “sportsman.” On the other hand, the position of the Department of Agriculture places it beyond the reach of such influences, while agents of the federal government appointed to enforce the regulations of the department, would be much more fearless and efficient than are the present State game wardens who find the pot-hunter element arrayed against them.

WHAT WE LOSE THROUGH INSECT PESTS

The economic support of this movement is based upon statistics which are fairly startling. In 1904 the United States Department of Agriculture made a study of the annual losses to agriculture through destructive insects, and summarized the results of the investigation (in the Year Book for that year) by means of the following table:

PRODUCT	PERCENTAGE OF LOSS	AMOUNT OF LOSS
Cereals.....	10	\$200,000,000
Hay.....	10	53,000,000
Cotton.....	10	60,000,000
Tobacco.....	10	5,300,000
Truck Crops.....	20	53,000,000
Sugars.....	10	5,000,000
Fruits.....	20	27,000,000
Farm Forests.....	10	11,000,000
Miscellaneous Crops.....	10	5,800,000
TOTAL.		\$420,100,000



THE GYPSY MOTH

(One of the most destructive of tree insects upon which many birds feed)

By way of the separate indictment of various individual insects, we are assured by experts that the codling moth and the curculio apple pest cause an annual shrinkage in the value of the apple crop of \$12,000,000 a year, to which must be added about \$8,250,000 spent each year for spraying the trees; that the chinch bug wheat pest costs wheat-growers about \$20,000,000 a year, and that the cotton-boll weevil damages that crop to the extent of \$20,000,000 annually; while the damage done yearly to trees by various pests is put at \$100,000,000. The number and especially the fecundity of highly destructive insect pests are amazing. Dr. Lintner, of the New Jersey Board of Agriculture, records 176 species which attack the apple tree, and about the same number infest peach, plum and cherry trees. The records of the United States Biological Survey show that the green leaf louse, which is very destructive to hop vines and many valuable fruits and vegetables, multiplies at the rate of ten sextillion to the pair in one season. The potato-bug is not so fecund, though one pair

will reproduce from fifty to sixty million in one season, while the natural increase of the gypsy moths would, in eight years, result in the defoliation of all of the trees in the United States.

HOW THE BIRDS CONSUME DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS

Weather conditions, parasites, fungi, insect diseases and mechanically applied poisons (most of which are both dangerous and expensive) together are insufficient to check the multiplication of insects without the assistance of insectivorous birds. Edward H. Forbush records seeing a pair of grosbeaks visit their nest 450 times in eleven hours, carrying to their young two or more larvae at a time. Sparrows, chickadees, vireos, martens and warblers made from forty to sixty trips an hour to their nests with all kinds of insects for their young. One of the reports of the Biological Survey records the finding of sixty grasshoppers in the crop of one nighthawk and 500 mosquitoes in another; thirty-eight cutworms in the crop of a blackbird and seventy cankerworms in the crop of a cedar bird. Professor Tschudi estimates that a song sparrow devours 1,500 larvae a day, and Professor Forbush says that a single yellow-throated warbler will consume 10,000 tree lice in a day. A scarlet tanager has been seen to devour gypsy moths at the rate of thirty-five a minute for eighteen minutes at a time. It is known that more than fifty species of birds feed upon different kinds of caterpillars, while thirty-eight species live largely upon destructive plant lice.

"By far the most efficient aids to man in controlling the codling moth are the birds," says the "Year Book" (1911) of the Department of Agriculture. A report of the Bureau of Entomology says that this insect does more damage to apples and pears than all of the other insect pests combined, this damage being estimated at from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 a year. Thirty-six species of birds attack this insect, these species representing thirteen families, of which the three most important are the woodpeckers, the titmice and the sparrows. In some localities these birds destroy from 66 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the hibernating larvae of this insect.

GAME BIRDS ALSO SHOULD HAVE UNIFORM PROTECTION

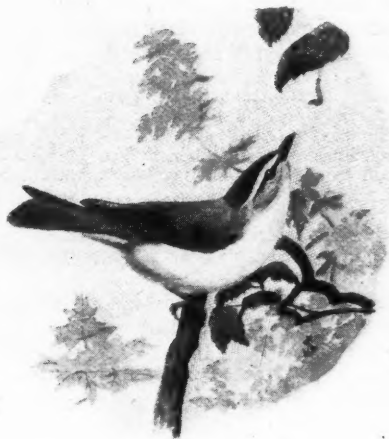
Of much less economic value than the insectivorous birds are the birds properly classed as "game," though many of these render

important economic service to man. This is true especially of what are termed the "shore-birds" because they frequent the shores of all bodies of water, though many of them are also at home on the plains and prairies. Of the sixty-odd species which occur in North America, all deserve protection because of their economic value in destroying various harmful insects. Nine species (phalaropes, sandpipers and plovers) are known to feed upon mosquitoes, while twenty-four are persistent eaters of grasshoppers. Yet these birds are hunted so incessantly that they are nearing extermination. The Eskimo curlew has virtually disappeared, the golden plover, once very abundant, is now rare and the same is true of the black-bellied plover, which only a few years ago was common along the Atlantic coast.

The need of more efficient and uniform protection of game birds has long been apparent to every intelligent and unselfish person who has given the subject any serious attention, and to none more than to the *true* sportsmen, who are always in favor of legislation of this kind. For such men realize not only that all kinds of game is steadily disappearing, and that the decrease has been at an alarmingly rapid rate during the past twenty years or so, but that, as far as migratory game birds are concerned, this diminution is bound, within a short time, under the present conditions, to reach the point of absolute extinction.

AMERICAN DUCKS DRIVEN NORTHWARD

Taking up the case of the waterfowl, it may be explained that on this continent there are to be found, north of Mexico, sixty-odd species and subspecies of wild geese, ducks and swans. Formerly the greater number of these interesting and useful birds bred freely within the present limits of the United States, but now only about twenty species do so. The birds have been driven from place to place by advancing civilization, and its ruthless product, the market-hunter, and finally, during the past twenty-five years, have been deprived of their last great natural breeding grounds in this country, that is, the northern parts of Montana, North Dakota, and Minnesota, by the draining of hundreds of the lakes, ponds, marshes and sloughs in that region, and the building of the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific railroads and their various branches. As a result, the great majority of North American ducks now breed in the lakes, streams, and marshes west of Hudson Bay.



THE RED-EYED VIREO¹

(An industrious eater of many kinds of destructive insects)



THE YELLOW WARBLER

(A common and diligent insect-catcher, with an especial fondness for cankerworms and injurious beetles)



THE WILSON'S SNIPE ("JACKSNIPE")

(A shore game bird which is rapidly disappearing, though it is very valuable as an insect-eater)



THE PURPLE MARTIN

(Likes the society of man, and is a persistent insect-eater)

MIGRATIONS FROM STATE TO STATE

The migration route of a large part of these birds in the fall is roughly a line between Great Slave Lake and Chesapeake Bay, and in the spring approximately the same route is followed in the return to the breeding grounds, though in both seasons many of the migrants doubtless follow the Mississippi

valley for a considerable distance. Large flocks also winter in the lower Mississippi valley, from Missouri southward, and especially along the coast of Louisiana, while those which breed west of the Rocky Mountains winter in southern and Lower California. It will be sufficient, however, for the purpose of illustration, to consider especially the fate of those which make their way regularly between the Great Slave Lake region and the Atlantic coast, from about Chesapeake Bay southward.

¹The bird portraits with this article are from William T. Hornaday's "American Natural History," (Copyright by him, 1904), and are reproduced here by the kind permission of his publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

It is important to bear in mind that most of these ducks begin their southern migration in September or October, and their return to their northern breeding grounds in March or April. Some idea of the gantlet they are obliged to run, especially in their northern movement, will be derived from an examination of the following tables, which give the *open* season in most of the Atlantic Coast States in which they winter, and the inland States through which they are likely to pass, the spring shooting being indicated by italics:

North Carolina	November 1	to March 31
Virginia	October 1	" May 1
Maryland	November 1-15	" April 10
Delaware	October 1	" April 10
West Virginia	September 1	" April 20
Ohio	September 1	" December 31
Michigan	October 15	" December 31
Indiana	September 1	" April 15
Illinois	September 1	" April 15
Iowa	September 1	" April 15
Nebraska	September 1	" April 15
Wisconsin	September 1	" January 1
Minnesota	September 1	" December 1
South Dakota	September 1	" April 10
North Dakota	September 7	" December 15
Montana	September 1	" January 1
Manitoba	September 1	" December 1
Alberta	August 25	" January 1
Saskatchewan	September 1	" January 1

Now, for example, imagine a flock of canvasback ducks who have wintered in the Chesapeake Bay region and southward. They arrived from the north, say, about the middle of November, to find the shooting season in full blast, and from the hour of their arrival they are constantly harassed by the gunners, for the open season in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina continues until long after the normal time for their departure for the North—in the early part of March. On their way northward, if they stop in West Virginia to feed or rest, they are shot at. Crossing Ohio they are protected, but in Indiana and Illinois they again find the gunners waiting for them, and also even in South Dakota, which permits spring shooting, while North Dakota does not, this being one of the many similar absurd contrasts between the game laws of adjoining States. But once over the line, and in Canada, these poor birds are safe at last, for here they will be protected by our Canadian cousins, who, it must be admitted, lead us easily in this matter of game preservation, as applied to both birds and animals.

The situation in the other States which lie along or near the Atlantic coast north of Maryland is generally better than from Mary-

land southward, though in these States there is much room for improvement, especially in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The open season in these States is as follows:

Maine	August 31	to January 1
New Hampshire	September 30	" February 1
Vermont	August 31	" January 1
Massachusetts	September 14	" January 1
Rhode Island	August 15	" March 31
Connecticut	August 31	" January 1
New York	September 16	" January 10
New Jersey	November 1	" March 15
Pennsylvania	September 1	" April 10

Many of the ducks from the Hudson Bay country move northward along the coast from Chesapeake Bay in the fall and spring, and there is another flight to and from the Labrador peninsula, though the number of these migrants is small in comparison with the great flocks from the northwest. It will be remarked that, of the States mentioned in the foregoing table, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania permit spring shooting, which means that the birds are hunted incessantly from the time of their arrival to their departure. And here again appear several absurd inconsistencies as between the open seasons in adjoining States. In Connecticut, for example, the season closes on the first of January, whereas just across the Sound, on Long Island, it continues for ten days longer, while in Rhode Island it is continued for *three months*, that is, until the 31st of March. Practically the same situation exists in New York and New Jersey; that is, the birds are protected in New York after the 10th of January, but if they venture over into New Jersey (a very short flight from the Great South Bay on Long Island, where thousands of them winter) before the 15th of March, they are likely to get shot for their carelessness. Again, the same fate awaits the New Jersey ducks who fail to remember that, although that State kindly permits them to live there after the 15th of March, just across the Delaware River is the State of Pennsylvania, which decrees that they may be slaughtered until the 10th of April.

WILD DUCKS IN DANGER OF EXTERMINATION

The foregoing facts will, perhaps, serve to explain why there is very real danger of the extermination of the wild ducks. In order to simplify the discussion, ducks only have been mentioned, but the situation is practically the same as regards the geese, swans, brant and other migratory waterfowl. The urgent need is for the immediate and absolute prohibition

of all spring shooting, which not only makes the open season unreasonably long, but is very destructive in its consequences. For it is known that many ducks mate early in the spring, and before they begin their northern migration. Market-hunters, especially, are very willing to take advantage of this fact. If they see a duck and a drake together, they will shoot the duck

first, knowing that the drake, after circling around for a while, will almost certainly return to find his mate. And the shooting of a duck who has already selected her mate means not alone the loss of that particular bird, but of an *entire brood*. It is the clear understanding of all this that



THE ROBIN

(A most useful bird, beloved and generally protected in the North, but slaughtered as "game" in many Southern States)

has brought about the prohibition of spring shooting in many of the States, and there can be no doubt that its continuance in other States is due largely to the influence of the market-hunters and restaurateurs upon the legislatures concerned.

MRS. SAGE'S GIFT OF MARSH ISLAND

A mention has been made above of Mrs. Russell Sage's

recent noble assistance to the cause of bird preservation in buying, as a permanent bird refuge Marsh Island, which is situated in the Gulf of Mexico, immediately west of the Mississippi delta region. The



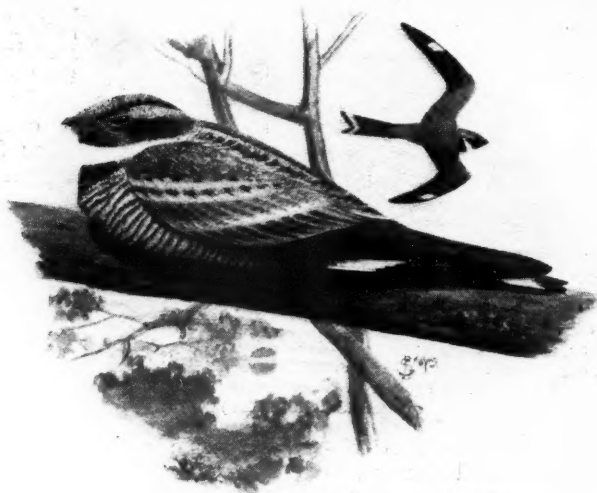
THE DOWNY WOODPECKER

("Apparently this bird is almost worth its weight in gold to the farmer who has valuable trees and fruit"—Hornaday, "American Natural History")



THE BAND-TAILED PIGEON

(A useful bird of the Western States, where it is much hunted as "game")



THE NIGHTHAWK (SOMETIMES CALLED "BULL BAT")

(A valuable bird because it destroys great numbers of mosquitoes, beetles, and grasshoppers. It is frequently shot for "sport," as it flies)



THE BOBOLINK

(Minstrel of the meadows in the Northern States, and very useful as well as beautiful; but slain by countless thousands, as the "reed-bird" in several Southern States. This slaughter goes on every fall, within the corporation limits of the national capital—that is, in the lowlands along the Eastern branch of the Potomac River—and the street railway company has been asked to run special cars for the gunners)

island is about eighteen miles long, by about nine miles wide, and contains about 75,000 acres. It is chiefly marsh-land dotted by numerous lakes and ponds and threaded by a labyrinth of creeks and bayous, so it is an ideal winter retreat for waterfowl, especially mallards, black ducks, teal and canvasback ducks, besides blue geese and snow geese, herons, bitterns, loons, rails, and shore-birds. But there is also good shelter and plenty of natural food for the migratory insectivorous birds.



THE KILLDEER PLOVER

(An inland shore-bird, mainly insectivorous, which feeds largely on ants, grasshoppers, caterpillars, curculios, moths, etc.)

The dedication of this island in the future to bird-preservation is none the less satisfactory to the friends of that cause, for the reason that for the past fifty years it has been one of the greatest wildfowl slaughtering grounds on this continent. Every year thousands of ducks and geese were shot there for the markets of New Orleans, St. Louis, Cin-



THE WHITE-BREASTED NUTHATCH
(A hard-working little bird which stays in the Northern States the year 'round and feeds largely upon borers and other harmful tree insects)



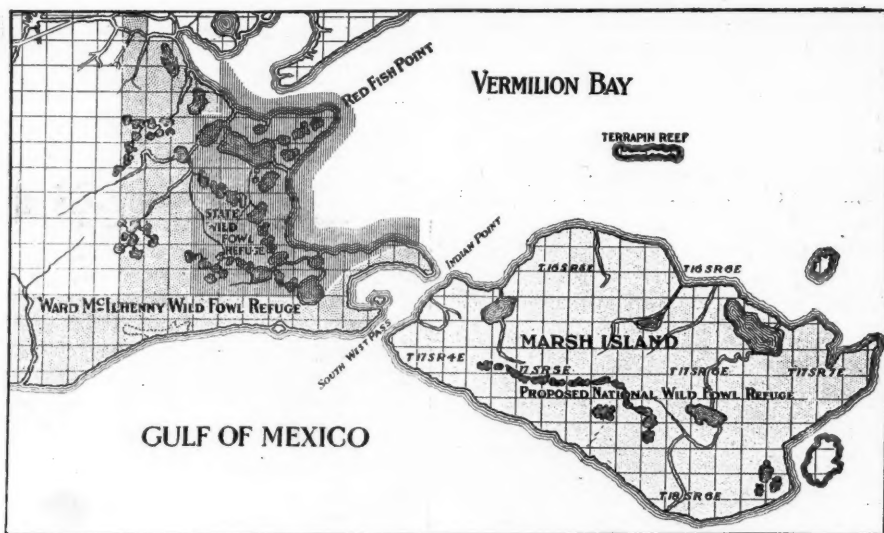
THE AMERICAN EGRET
(Almost exterminated for its "aigrette" plumes, used in decorating women's hats)

cinnati, and Chicago. The acquirement of the island as a bird refuge was due primarily to the efforts of Mr. Edward H. McIlhenny of Avery Island, near by, and Mr. Charles



RETREAT OF EGRETS AND HERONS, MARSH ISLAND, LOUISIANA

(This island, long famous as a winter feeding ground for many species of migratory birds, has been purchased by Mrs. Russell Sage and dedicated as a bird refuge)



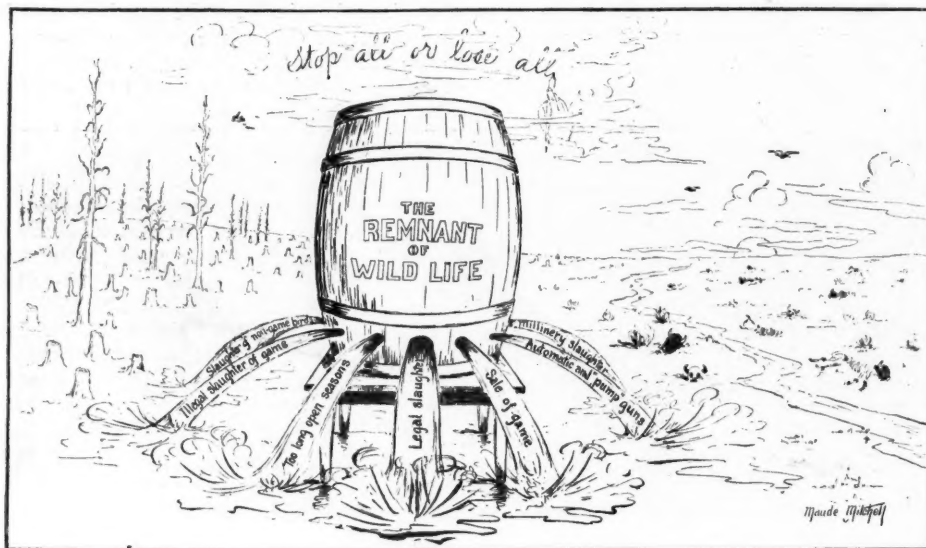
MAP OF MARSH ISLAND, WHICH MRS. SAGE HAS BOUGHT AS A BIRD REFUGE

Willis Ward, for it was they who secured an option on it and were chiefly instrumental in persuading Mrs. Sage to buy it,—at a price of about \$150,000. Apparently it is the intention eventually to offer this new bird sanctuary as a gift to the nation, provided the federal government or the State of Louisiana will undertake to preserve it for that purpose and to protect it against poachers. In all probability the Department of Agriculture

would gladly accept this responsibility and guardianship.

WHAT WILL CONGRESS DO?

Because of the novelty of the proposal involved, it is difficult, of course, to predict what will be the attitude of Congress toward the "Federal migratory bird bill," as it has come to be known. The fact, however, that



"WILL YOU LEAVE ANY ONE OF THEM OPEN?"

(Cartoon used in support of the Bayne bill, prohibiting the sale of game-birds in New York)

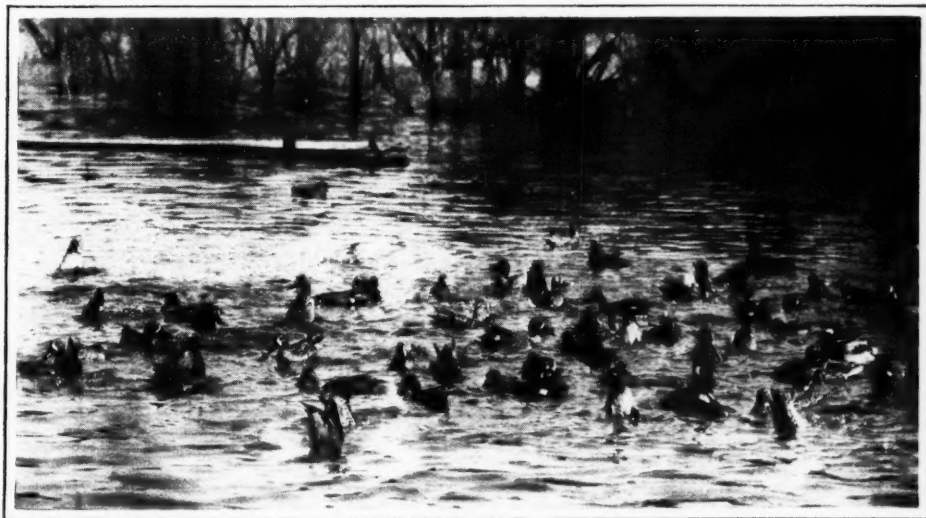


MARSH ISLAND AS IT WAS

(Market-gunner gathering a few mallards he has just shot)
From *The Illustrated Outdoor World*

three measures advocating federal protection for the birds, were unanimously reported to Congress last year after having had careful consideration by the Senate and House committees concerned, certainly indicates that those bodies did not regard the project as a

dream of visionary sentimentalists. Indeed, the measure not only has the earnest support of naturalists, but has been declared sound by several lawyers who were engaged to look into the legality of the principle involved.



PROTECTED WATERFOWL AT MARSH ISLAND

THE NEW WOMAN IN THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH

WHETHER you roam leisurely through the Mohammedan world, splashed, as it is, over Europe, Africa, and Asia—as the writer recently had the privilege of doing—or whether you carefully study the developments of Islam from your library table, no feature of present-day Moslem life is so outstanding as the transformation through which its female sex is passing, which already has given the various Islamic countries their vanguard of “new” women, and is steadily bringing forward the masses of femininity who lag behind. In Turkey, Persia, India, and Egypt, the principal lands populated by followers of the Prophet, this phenomenon is so prominent that he who runs may see it.

THE NEW WOMAN OF NEW TURKEY

No dispassionate review of the events which culminated in the removal of Abdul Hamid from the throne four years ago and the elevation of Mehmet V. to be the ruler of Turkey, can ignore the part played by the new woman in making the *coup d'état* successful. The fair relations of the male conspirators, secured by their sex from the workings of Abdul Hamid's spy system, carried messages from one leader to another, thus connecting up the various wires which finally fused into the revolt. Take these women plotters out of the Turkish revolution and it is hard to conceive just how the finely meshed net of espionage so ingeniously spread over his whole realm by the deposed Sultan could have been cheated of its prey.

To-day the new woman is playing just as useful a rôle in the Near East as she enacted during the days of the revolution. At the moment these words are being written, members of the fair sex belonging to the most exclusive families in Constantinople are selling flowers on the street to raise money for the sufferers from the earthquake which a short time ago devastated the eastern portion of the Ottoman Empire. What episode in the checkered past of the Caliph's capital can compare with this innovation!

Prominent in the ranks of advanced Turkish women is Selma Hanoum, the sister of

Riza Bey, who gained renown for himself as the President of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, and is known to be an ardent advocate of female education. So radical is she that it is whispered she has been privately instructed by the “Young Turks” to dampen her ardor in advocating greater freedom for women, lest her sermons may prove too much of a disturbing factor in the erstwhile quiet harems. A shining member of this clever coterie is Hallideh Edib Hanoum, wife of Professor Salih Zeki Bey, of the Imperial University at Constantinople, who holds the distinction of being the first Turkish woman to secure an academic degree. Even as a child she was exceedingly bright, and was decorated, when she was fifteen years old, by the whimsical Abdul Hamid in a moment of generosity, for translating an English book into her mother-tongue. She contributes to the current literature of her land, and has written several volumes. Miss Nazli Halid, the second Mohammedan woman of Turkey to obtain the decree of Bachelor of Arts, is equally prominent as a worker for the elevation of her sex.

Among the other female Turkish authors may be mentioned Naghier Hanoum; Fatima Alihé Hanoum, daughter of Jevdet Pasha, famous as a statesman and historian, and Eminé Semie Hanoum, her younger sister; and Abdul Hak's sister, a popular poetess. These and many others contribute to the columns of *Hanoum lar Gazetlaise*—“Women's Gazette”—published from Constantinople. Some of them are conversant with French, German, or English, in addition to their own language, and, in a few cases, they speak and write Persian and ancient and modern Greek as well. The most distinguishing characteristic of each member of this enlightened sisterhood is an irrepressible passion to contribute her mite to the uplift of less fortunate Turkish women.

THE FEMININE PATRIOTS OF PERSIA

The part played by the new woman in Persia's national crises during recent years is no less significant than that enacted by their



A GROUP OF MOSLEM STUDENTS IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Turkish sisters. When the constitution was given to the people of Iran, the progressive women of the land of Omar went into ecstasies over it. Some of them wrote hallelujahs congratulating the nation upon securing a more liberal form of government; and expressed the desire to take part in the demonstrations that celebrated the assembling of the first parliament at Teheran. Subsequently, when Mohammed Ali sought to crush out the liberties of his subjects and plunged them into a civil war, some of the women assisted the revolution by contributing to its exchequer the money secured by selling their personal jewels and ornaments; and lent their aid to their mutinous menfolk by transmitting political documents through the medium of the women relations of other leaders who passed them on to their relatives of the opposite sex, thus forming a sort of subtle endless chain of communication which defied detection. A few even went the length of demonstrating their love for freedom by actually donning masculine attire, joining the ranks of the soldiers, and taking part in the fighting.

Some of the public-spirited women of the Shah's domain sought to dissuade the statesmen from fastening the incubus of foreign

loans upon the country, and helped them in their endeavor to prevent the tide of Russian aggression from submerging their country. One of their many efforts in this connection took the form of a demonstration in the *Mejlis* or parliament. Scores of ladies emerged from the shadowy seclusion of the harems that had sheltered them throughout their existence from contact with the work-a-day world, and marched in a body to the Parliament house. Arrived there, they insisted upon being given a hearing by the representatives of the nation. Their faces were veiled in the orthodox style, but the eyes that gazed upon the unfamiliar scene flashed fire. Realizing that he had to deal with an unusually delicate situation, the President diplomatically decided to receive the deputation. Thereupon the ladies dramatically proceeded to impress the members of Parliament with the necessity of presenting a bold front to Slav encroachment, not hesitating, it is stated by responsible authorities, to flourish revolvers and vow to take the lives of their husbands and sons and kill themselves if their petition was ignored.

The Persian women have been equally helpful in constructive work. Mr. Morgan Shuster relates in his recently published work,



THE BEGUM OF JANJIRA, THE ONLY EMANCIPATED
QUEEN OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

"The Strangling of Persia," that a woman volunteered to furnish him certain figures which were badly needed by the Finance Department, of which he then was the head, which no one else could give. Although she endangered her own life and fortune as well as that of her family by her act, she readily gave aid to the government. Other feminine patriots of Iran have set themselves to work to educate girls and young women and inspire them to fight for the preservation of national entity and the advancement of emancipation.

THE ADVANCED MOSLEM WOMEN OF INDIA

The 60,000,000 Mohammedans of India, who, unlike their fellow-religionists in Turkey and Persia, are not convulsed by political spasms, but under the peaceful conditions secured to them by the firm hand of Great Britain, are quietly endeavoring to rise from the abyss in which they have lived ever since the downfall of the Mogul Empire—a task, for all its lack of ostentation, no less arduous than the spectacular revolutionary process through which the two westerly Moslem nations are passing—are being helped in their labor in no mean measure by the women of their community.

Prominent in the ranks of Indian Mohammedan leaders is the Begum of Bhopal, who enjoys the unique distinction of being the only woman in the Islamic world ruling in

her own name and right. Though she has not seen fit to cast aside the veil, she is recognized by all authorities to be an efficient administrator of her native state, nestling in the heart of India, which has an area of nearly 7,000 square miles and a population of about 1,000,000 souls. She has established several schools for girls and has made adequate provision for the medical treatment of her female subjects. Whenever she tours through any portion of her territory, she makes special inquiries regarding the condition of the women, and issues special orders to promote their welfare and happiness. On her recent return to India from a trip to England and Europe she set apart a large sum of money to endow a college for women at Delhi, which, judging from the details that have leaked out, promises to be a most up-to-date institution in every particular. By means of lectures, she is doing everything in her power to bestir the Moslems in all parts of Hindostan and inspire them to march forward in the path of progress.

This Mohammedan queen's example is being emulated by the Begum of Janjira, the consort of the Nawab of the state of that name located in the Bombay Presidency. She has induced her husband to set up many modern female schools in his domains, and just recently has established a woman's club in her capital.

Many other enlightened Moslem women of India, of lesser station, are working hard to advance the cause of feminism in their community. To mention only a few of these propagandists: A Mohammedan widow of Calcutta conducts a school for girls of exclusive families, who, on account of prevailing prejudices, have not hitherto been permitted by their relatives to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the government. In Delhi, the new imperial center of Hindostan, an Islamite woman edits a monthly periodical, every page of which is brimful of inspiration for feminine uplift. From Lahore—an important Mohammedan center in India—Miss Fatima (the daughter of Mahbub Alam, a celebrated journalist) issues another such publication befittingly entitled *Shareef Bibi*—"Gentlewoman."

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN OF EGYPT

In Egypt, where, on account of the British occupation, the followers of the Prophet live under conditions similar to those of their confrères in India, Princess Nazli, an aunt of the Khedive, is performing a task akin to that

undertaken in Hindostan by the Begums of Bhopal and Janjira. Herself highly educated, enjoying the advantage of European travel, and emancipated to the extent of receiving male visitors at her receptions, she is urging the men of the land of the Pharaohs to realize that female education constitutes the pivotal point of their national well-being.

Recently a paper prepared by Bahisht-el-Badia, daughter of Hafni Nasif, an influential Egyptian, was read at a Moslem gathering at Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo, in which, amongst other things, she asked that parents who could afford it should be compelled to give at least primary schooling to their daughters; that better hospital and dispensary facilities should be provided for women, females admitted into the medical colleges, and a nurse and midwife maintained in every city and village in Egypt to attend women; that special schools should be established to teach girls domestic science and the care of children; that a competent teacher should be employed in every educational institution to instruct the female pupils in good manners and the tenets of their religion; that a university for women should be established; that the practice of polygamy should be discontinued; and that the hiring of women to stand around the coffin at funerals beating their breasts and faces should be forbidden. While some time must elapse before these reforms can be put into actual operation, their enunciation by Mme. Badia and several other women agitators shows the direction in which the wind is blowing in Egypt.

Not a few Moslem women of the Nile-land have lately displayed Pan-Islamic sentiments by collecting funds to help Turkey fight Italian aggression in Tripoli. Mme. Zubeiden Hanem Falhi, who collected over \$4,000 and forwarded it to the Turkish Minister for War, may be mentioned as a leading spirit amongst Egyptian feminine Pan-Islamites. Attention may be directed, in passing, to the fact that many Mohammedan women have distinguished themselves in warfare against the Italians in Tripoli during recent battles.

To-day, as one surveys the whole Mohammedan world, similar examples of the new woman are to be found scattered here and there. Many of them have taken it upon themselves to open small academies to educate girls, to write and translate books, to conduct newspapers and magazines devoted to feminine interests, to advance learning amongst the members of their sex, and to alleviate the miseries of their sisters by medical ministrations, nursing, and settlement work.

THE NEW MAN IN MOSLEM LANDS

Concurrently with the advent of the new woman in Moslem lands, a new type of man also has made his appearance. Educated either in the Occident or nurtured on Western education in his own country, it is given to him to realize that no race can progress and develop in a properly balanced manner if one-half of it is left uneducated and backward, and that the modernization of man alone will not be able to lift up the nation, but that it must simultaneously be accompanied by the betterment of the condition of the women. Awake to this fact, he understands that something more is required than progress along military, naval, industrial, and commercial lines, if the Moslems want to rise in the scale of nations to the height achieved by the Americans and Europeans. They must free their women from the hampering social customs that make it impossible for them to advance, give them an education that will enlighten, ennoble, and liberalize them, and reorganize society so that the gentler sex shall have an equal opportunity to grow, with that enjoyed by the males.

This attitude is not merely reflected in words, but finds expression in the actions of the new man of the Moslem world. For instance, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who rules over nearly 83,000 square miles of territory and more than 13,250,000 people (the largest area and population administered by any native chief in India), whose forefathers possessed as large harems as any in the world, is monogamous.

The changed attitude of the new type of Mohammedan man, in the nature of things, is resulting in bettering the status of the female members of their community. Indeed, it must be plainly stated that these men are the backbone of the movement which has created the vanguard of new Islamic women, and which is rapidly filing the fetters of the females of the race.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCES

The birth of the modernized type of humanity, of both sexes, in Moslem lands undoubtedly is due to the impact of the Occident upon the Orient, the missionary influence playing a large part in the liberalization of Mohammedan men and women. It is noteworthy that in every Mussulman country, without a single exception, the first girls' school was established under the auspices and through the instrumentality of the Western

(and eke American) religious teachers. To-day no part of the Moslem world (with the exception of Afghanistan, which still stubbornly repels the Christian propagandists) is without such missionary academies.

As a rule these institutions are of an elementary character, and only teach the rudiments of the three R's, a little sewing, and simple domestic economy. Girls of all classes are admitted, and in all cases proselytizing is subordinated to educational work. However, here and there the missionaries are conducting academies where the highest form of culture is imparted exclusively to young ladies. The most prominent endeavor of this kind is the American College for Girls in Constantinople, established in 1871 as a high school, and in 1890 raised to the status of a college. Most of the members of its faculty are American women with American university diplomas, and it is being maintained through the liberality of American philanthropists. At present it has 125 pupils, about 31 of them Moslems, who are taught English literature and composition, German, French, vernacular, mathematics, the Bible, physiology, history, physics, Latin, Greek, chemistry, biology, ethics, and music. Another institution maintained by missionaries for the higher education of women in Moslem lands is the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow, India, which also owes its existence to American generosity.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

These missionary schools are being supplemented by female academies established and conducted by the various governments. The Turkish administration, despite its financial difficulties and perplexing war problem, has provided girls' schools of a more or less modern type in all the principal cities, while in the

small schools attached to practically every mosque in the empire, children of both sexes are taught the rudiments of knowledge, in addition to learning the Koran by heart. The government maintains a well-equipped and adequately staffed institution for the training of teachers at Constantinople; another for medical and nursing training; and art and domestic science academies—all for the exclusive benefit of the fair sex. The Persian administration, in spite of the chaotic state of its affairs, has not altogether forgotten its re-



HADJI MIRZA YAHYA, OF TEHERAN
(Who is an ardent advocate of the emancipation
of Persian women)

sponsibility in this matter. India, of all the Mohammedan countries, is most fortunate in this respect, a network of female schools being spread over the whole peninsula, there being high schools and colleges maintained by the British-Indian Government exclusively for women. The British occupation of Egypt has been instrumental in bringing similar blessings to the Moslem woman of the land of the Pharaohs. Lord Kitchener, the new Agent-General at Cairo, is displaying commendable energy in multiplying girls' schools and is sanguine about the advance of female education in that part of the world. The European occupation of the northern belt and other Islamic

parts of Africa is gradually resulting in the enlightenment of the rising generation of women.

These direct agencies for Moslem feminine progress are being supplemented, in an indirect manner, by the presence of American and European women, who to-day are to be found in all parts of the world, and whose example unconsciously and involuntarily is tending toward the freeing of Mohammedan women from handicapping customs.

The sum total of the effect of these agencies is evident in the presence of the vanguard of new women, who, in small numbers, are to be found in all Islamic lands, as it also is apparent in the recruits from the uneducated women.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the last of a series of seven articles which have appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, beginning with the June number. "Big Business and the Citizen," by the same author as the present article, was published in two parts in June and July. It was followed by "The Borrower and the Money Trust," by A. W. Atwood, "The Efficiency of Labor," by Charles B. Going, "The Investor," by A. H. Gleason, "The Middleman," by A. W. Atwood. The series now closes with "The Captain of Industry" printed below.

It is believed that the general plan, which has been outlined in these articles, will do more to prevent the development and continuance of monopoly than any of the more drastic remedies which have been tried or suggested. Though not presented as a panacea, it will draw the fangs of the predatory representatives of Big Business, while bringing no injury to legitimate enterprise.

Publicity of all the essential facts of organization, methods and operation of those concerns which have control of a substantial portion of the field in any industry is the keynote. The facts are to be obtained by a Commission on Interstate Trade, which will substitute for the haphazard methods now being tried, a firm and orderly procedure.

In the present article the official representative of Big Business is discussed under the title, "The Captain of Industry." The invaluable services which he has rendered to Society are shown; but it is also indicated that he has, in later years, wandered far from his legitimate function. He has in many cases, become a speculator instead of a manufacturer, and our industrial efficiency has been threatened and our industrial progress has been halted thereby. Mr. Thompson shows that under a régime of Publicity the Captain of Industry will be forced to return to his proper task, namely, making the most effective combination of men and materials, to his own advantage and the advantage of the public.

THE CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON

(Assistant Professor of History, College of the City of New York)

AT a public dinner in New York a year ago the subject for discussion was "The Relation of Government to Business." One of the speakers opened his address with the following striking sentence: "The most remarkable thing about the relations of the government to business seems to me to be that it is necessary to discuss them at all."

This statement expresses better than pages of description the attitude of many exponents of Big Business to-day. Business must not be impeded in its triumphal progress. No wrong may be righted, no injustice may be checked because such action would "disturb business." Years ago such an attitude was even more common, but in these days many of our industrial kings have seen the handwriting on the wall, and have amended their speech if not their practices. A large rem-

nant, however, has not yet comprehended the message.

Such industrial survivals of past ages do not realize that they are living in a new world. They do not see that they are loudly proclaiming the divine right of kings to an age which has, decisively and finally, repudiated that doctrine. The story of King Canute conveys no meaning to them. We are told that this monarch set up his throne on the seashore and commanded the waves to refrain from approaching him. The waves wet the royal feet, and if the throne had not been removed would have drenched and overwhelmed the royal person. This happened 900 years ago, and similar commands to respect royalty are no more powerful to-day. Our Captain of Industry must come to realize this fact.

Who Is this Captain of Industry?

That grim old Scot, Thomas Carlyle, is credited with coining the phrase "Captain of Industry," which has now passed into common speech, though, as often happens, with a meaning somewhat changed. The Captain of Industry whom Carlyle knew, was the strong man who had struggled to the front, often from the lower ranks of society. He was the potter, knowing his trade, who had become the master first of a few wheels, and then of many; or the cotton spinner, who had gathered a few operatives around him, and had seen his plant expand until he counted his workmen by the hundred. Under his charge the raw materials had been subdued and made to serve mankind. *Because he was able to make better combinations of men and materials than his fellows he rose from the ranks.*

We have seen a similar development in America. The Studebaker brothers, skilful in wood and iron, made good wagons, and a little factory was set up. Gradually it expanded as the demand grew, other kinds of vehicles were added, and the Studebaker name is now known far and wide. In a log hut Washington Duke manufactured, crudely and roughly, the tobacco grown upon his few acres, and then sold the product at retail from a wagon. The little factory grew during his lifetime into a great establishment which sent its products around the world. A half-century ago John B. Stetson with two workmen began the manufacture of hats. Now the employees are numbered in the thousands. A little woolen mill with a dozen looms established by a weaver who had saved a few dollars, has in the course of time come to clothe many thousands. Go back into our industrial history and hundreds of similar instances present themselves.

These men had no advantages over their neighbors, other than their skill, their shrewdness, and their ability to manage the men they called in to work for them. Their factories were their pride, their workmen often their friends and neighbors, who came to them for advice and counsel when difficulties appeared. Around their factories grew up little villages, many of which have become flourishing cities.

They bought their materials as cheaply as they could and sold their product for the best price they could get. They put honest material and honest work into their goods striving to make them durable rather than cheap. Their advertising was effective and cheap,—

the personal recommendation of satisfied customers. They kept no elaborate cost sheets but the size of the plant was such that the eye of the master was everywhere. Generally he had a fairly accurate idea of the efficiency of the different departments, and of the individual workmen, though the modern efficiency engineer might be able to show him many weak places.

Men such as these, and their establishments, were the product of their times. They were public benefactors, for they seized upon neglected opportunities and transformed crude material into the necessities of life. Capital alone or labor alone is ineffective. The man who combines them in due proportion renders high service, and deserves much from society. By them the machine was brought into service to replace the more wasteful methods of former days. Jealousy and envy hardly touched them, for it was agreed that their success was deserved.

How the Captain of Industry Changed as the Years Went By

Such was the Captain of Industry in an earlier, simpler America, but such conditions did not last. As the business grew to greatness, too often he or his son developed less attractive traits. He began to think of himself as made of different clay. His achievements seemed to him not of a different degree but of a different character. To the great god Success, as typified by his business, he was ready to sacrifice the public, his workmen, and in extreme cases his family.

When the public interest conflicted with the apparent success of his business, so much the worse for the public. If the people refused to yield to his demands he bribed or bullied their representatives,—aldermen, legislators, or even judges. Naturally there was resentment and in many cases our Captain of Industry went into politics, finding it easier to arrange that only men easily influenced were elected to office.

Once the employer and his men had felt that they were working together toward a common end; but gradually the former began to look upon the latter as no more than a part of his machinery of production. In his own eyes he became a superior being "giving work" to those of a lower order. Sympathy and fellow feeling were lost and the workmen began to think of rebellion. These attempts to thwart his will were met with mingled astonishment and rage by our conquering Cæsar, who could not comprehend such insolence. He was too much obsessed by

self to develop a social consciousness. In one respect at least he was a thoroughgoing individualist. He believed in perfect liberty—for himself.

The New Captain of Industry Who Has Succeeded the Old

At this point another figure comes to the front and usurps the position and the name of the Captain of Industry. The latter knew his particular mode of production from raw material to finished product. The usurper calls himself a financier and seeks control of various industries, the product of which perhaps he has hardly seen. He neither knows nor cares to learn the processes of manufacture. So we have "railroad kings" whose knowledge of that complicated activity was gained in a parlor car, and presidents of great combinations, dealing with the primary necessities of life, whose training for their positions was secured in a law office or a banking house. *In fact the new personages deal less in the real tangible product than in the paper evidences of a share in the control of such product.* They are, in numerous cases, with some notable exceptions, not manufacturers but promoters and speculators who expect their profits from the investing rather than from the consuming public.

In other cases they are but "hired men" placed in office by the financial interests which have undertaken to combine the leading concerns in that particular branch of industry. Their own stake in the business is often negligible, except as they may receive the crumbs which fall from their employers' table. They take orders from a board of directors as ignorant as themselves, and transmit them to their subordinates. Men, even whole establishments, are no more than pawns on a chessboard.

The New Managers Are Sometimes Successful

Justice demands, however, that we acknowledge that these financial agents have sometimes succeeded better than might have been expected. Sometimes a fresh point of view, a mind unfettered by the routine which has bound those bred in that particular industry, may discover opportunities for economy or for expansion hitherto unnoticed. Such cases nevertheless are rare.

Where the combination is successful, those in control are seldom manufacturers only. Their chief profits come not in dividends but from the stock market, from reorganizations, from exchange of stocks for bonds, or the

reverse. The common stock of the old American Tobacco Company and its affiliated organizations, in the beginning, was chiefly water, and was sold with difficulty. After a time bonds were offered the holders of the stock in exchange for the certificates, and the stock gravitated into the hands of a few men. When it was safely concentrated, dividends increased enormously, and we have seen the stock sell, even after the decree of dissolution was announced, at more than \$500. This case though more flagrant than most differs only in degree and not in kind from others which might be mentioned. The story is told at length in the report of the Commissioner of Corporations.

How Did Our New Captain of Industry Use His Power?

When several of the important concerns in every line of industry came under unified control, the attempt was made to include others, peaceably or forcibly. If the old-fashioned Captain of Industry wished to preserve the independence of the business which he or his father had built up, war was declared, *for the managers of the new organization soon learned that the anticipated profits of combination could not be reaped unless substantial monopoly was secured.*

This does not mean that there are not real economies in concentration and combination. There are many legitimate opportunities of reducing expenses, by eliminating waste and duplication of effort. Each plant may do the particular kind of work for which it is best fitted; a trade secret, or an improved method becomes the common property of all the mills, the selling force may be reduced, or the same force may be spread over a greater territory. A smaller office force is required, and the cost of supervision may be reduced. There are, however, certain disadvantages to which reference will be made later.

The war on the independent was waged with scant regard to fairness. The methods of attack were and are many. We have seen prices reduced only in the territory of a smaller competitor, we have seen a great concern making several grades or varieties of product reduce the price of one below cost in order to cripple or crush a competitor who made that one only. We have seen, and we see to-day, wherever the combination dares, the attempt to force the buyer or the lessee to deal only with the trust. Confidential agents of the combination have sought employment with the independent, or his employees have been bribed to report the

details of his business to the power which was striving to crush him.

Mysterious Forces Hamper the Independent Manufacturer -

This modern Captain of Industry is, as was said above, often a part of a great financial organism which may be able to exert pressure upon the independent in various other ways. His raw materials may be delayed because the cars bringing them are mysteriously sidetracked at a way station; or the railroad may unexpectedly fail to furnish cars to carry away his products; or his bank may apologetically decline to extend further credit.

To what extent these unfair and dishonest methods have been employed is not known and will never be known. Men, jealous of their personal honor, exemplary in their private life, patrons of art and learning, liberal supporters of charitable institutions, have by some queer moral twist brought themselves to traffic with spies and informers. They have stooped to debauch a board of aldermen or a legislature, and in many cases the voters themselves, to the end that special privileges be granted them, or that the reasonable applications of a competitor might be denied, or that unfair burdens might be imposed upon him. In his private capacity the Captain of Industry often has a conscience which he does not exhibit when acting for his corporation.

Why Has the Captain of Industry Thought Such Actions Necessary?

One cause of such ruthless attempts to gain complete control was the failure of the original combination to return the expected profits from operation. The plants which were combined were not always the newest or the best equipped, and therefore the average efficiency could not be the highest. Almost invariably these inferior plants were taken into the combination upon an inflated valuation, and the concern was charged with a floating debt so enormous that the fixed charges absorbed the greater part of the income. If the stock was to be sold some profits must be shown.

But it is in this capacity of speculator that our modern Captain of Industry appears to the least advantage. In his private capacity he would serve as a trustee with unswerving honesty, but as trustee for the investor in the stocks and bonds of his corporation he has often been guilty of practices which cannot be defended under any code of morals except that of tooth and claw. Mr. Gleason in the October number of the REVIEW has shown some of the methods by which the insider has

been enriched and the public defrauded. All these are no part of his legitimate functions as a manufacturer, or as any other sort of a business man, for that matter.

The Largest Concerns Not Always Most Efficient

Here it may be worth while to emphasize the fact that the largest concerns are not always most efficient. There seems to be a point beyond which increase in size does not invariably afford increased economy, at least with the grade of managing ability so far developed. It seemed to be generally agreed in the testimony before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce last winter, that a steel plant with a capital of \$200,000,000, for example, can produce and sell, at least as cheaply as the Steel Corporation. The point of high efficiency in some other industries may be reached with a much lower capitalization.

"No tree reaches quite to the sky," is a phrase which may be applied to men even though we have developed financial giants. There is a limit to the number of men a general, however skilful, can use effectively. There is likewise a point beyond which even industrial generals can neither think nor project their personalities. Here is the weakness of combinations of abnormal size, as a study of our great industrial mammoths will prove.

Let us grant for the sake of argument that the great combination may be able to get, either by purchase, or by ownership of the sources of supply, cheaper raw materials than its smaller rivals. Let us acknowledge that it may reduce materially the selling cost. Grant further that, legitimately or illegitimately, it can cut the cost of transportation to the bone. Suppose also that its heads, through their financial affiliations, can force customers to buy at an exorbitant price. Let us agree that its size and influence can assure it an abundant supply of capital when needed. Grant all of these—though in doing so we may be too liberal—and we have not told the whole story. *The important factor of Labor engaged in production must be considered.*

Where Big Business Fails to Produce Results

The actual labor force is seldom so efficient, man for man, in these great combinations as in single independent concerns, because it is not so well handled. Thomas Carlyle was not an economist but we are beginning to

comprehend that in his wildest frenzy there was much economic truth. For example, when he says, "Love of men cannot be bought by cash payment and without love men cannot endure to be together," he utters a profound truth. How can men feel affection for an employer who, perhaps, has never seen the plant, or feel loyalty toward a force?

Big Business has always been weakest in dealing with labor. In the production of an article in which the chief cost is the raw material, or the expense of distribution, the weakness may not be so apparent *but it seems to be established that as the proportion of labor rises, the efficiency of Big Business declines.*

Therefore a well equipped concern, large enough to gain economies in buying and selling,—provided that its manager be correspondingly efficient—will be able to exist and prosper in the face of *any combination likely to be formed, provided that it be protected from unfair and predatory competition on the part of a stronger adversary.*

This does not mean that the unfit should be bolstered up. The sooner the incompetent manufacturer fails and gives way to the wiser man who can use the opportunities to greater advantage the better for the public. The sooner the badly located, improperly constructed plant is closed the greater the public gain. And yet, because the public does not always think clearly, it sometimes blames the trust for doing what is in some cases, the only justifiable thing, that is, closing down a plant which can not produce goods cheaply in comparison with others.

Nor is this demand for protection of the smaller concern from unfair competition a plea for mediocrity, nor is it an attempt to restrain the strong from developing legitimately. *But these concerns over which our new Captain of Industry reigns, have not grown; they have been made.* Few would deny the right of a single concern to grow larger, for bigness has not yet been declared a sin. It is size attained by absorbing or destroying other concerns to which we object. No concern is likely to dominate a field absolutely on account of its natural growth.

An absolute monopoly is of course difficult, if not impossible of attainment, and except in the easily regulated natural monopolies, will not be tolerated in the present temper of the American people. They are not willing to accept monopoly regulated or unregulated. It is the settled belief of the great body of our citizens that no man or set of men can be trusted with absolute power. To accept absolute monopoly means to deliver the tax-

ing power into irresponsible hands. No principle is more firmly fixed than that taxes may not be imposed without the consent of those taxed. Yet this is not the most serious reason for refusing to allow the Captain of Industry to assume dictatorial powers.

Possible Extortion Not the Most Serious Objection to Monopoly

On first thought it would seem that this power of extorting monopoly price, and the probability of seeing the power exercised must be the most serious objection to monopoly. This view is shortsighted and superficial. There is a deeper objection, from the standpoint of the public welfare.

The greatest evil accompanying monopoly is the inevitable hindrance to technical progress. Though the size and wealth of a great combination may enable it to maintain a staff of scientists and inventors, the fundamental improvements have not been made to order. They have been worked out in laboratories or workshops, they have come because they were needed under the spur of necessity. A substantial monopoly is inclined to rest upon its oars, even to the extent of burying patents. Why send costly machinery to the scrap heap or make extensive and expensive charges in processes and plant when the consuming public must come to buy?

Just what difference does this make? A moment's thought will give the answer. *We cannot maintain our present standards of life, to say nothing of raising them, unless improvements in processes and machinery continue to be made.* The poorest home to-day contains comforts and luxuries which the richest could not have a generation or two ago, because the amount of labor necessary to produce an article has been so reduced, that the labor set free may engage in the production of other articles. To illustrate: Once the whole energy of the population was devoted to securing enough food to maintain existence. Less than a hundred years ago over 80 per cent. of the population of the United States reported by the Census as engaged in gainful occupations, was engaged in agriculture. In 1910 less than 36 per cent. was so engaged, though the population as a whole has a fuller, more varied diet. If as much labor were required to produce a bushel of wheat to-day as a hundred years ago, bread would be a luxury.

Instances can be multiplied. Nails are so cheap that it has been calculated that it is cheaper for a carpenter not to stoop to pick up one he has dropped. The invention of

machinery for nail making has replaced the labor formerly required. The same is true of matches, of paper, of cotton cloth, and of hundreds of other things.

As our natural resources become exhausted, and as our population grows, not only through natural increase, but through immigration, we must continue to substitute machinery for hand labor, must devise new processes to the same end, or go backward. These machines, these processes, though carefully guarded for a period, become common property in time. We should not begrudge the inventor's gains. Though they may seem exorbitantly large, our condition is no worse than it was before the invention was made, and after a limited time all share the benefits.

Monopoly has always been slow to take advantage of changes and improvements, upon which our continued progress depends, and this is the most important objection to allowing complete concentration.

How Can Monopoly Be Prevented?

Since the strongest weapon of the combination is predatory competition, any method by which this competition can be checked is likely to prevent the development of a complete monopoly. Though the American Tobacco Company, for example, continued to absorb many independent concerns, there is a limit to the continuance of such a policy. In an industry where the profits are large, independent concerns will constantly be organized, and, as they are bought up others will come into existence, sometimes for the purpose of selling out to the combination. Obviously our Captains of Industry cannot continue such a policy of absorption indefinitely. But where, by any, or all, of the predatory methods mentioned above, they can threaten the existence of the competing concern, fewer men will enter the industry.

Publicity the Cure for Predatory Competition

Full publicity of the organization, operation, and methods of a great concern will do more to keep its managers in the paths of rectitude than any number of penal statutes. The statutes will be necessary in some cases, for there are men who are hardened and defiant, but the number is small.

A Commission on Interstate Trade armed with the power to secure full knowledge of the workings of a business, and then to publish the result of its findings, would check unfair methods almost instantly. Heretofore, the

doings of the directors and officers of Big Business have been shrouded with an impenetrable veil of secrecy. Tear it aside, make it impossible for them to strike in the dark, and the blow will be withheld. Men do not openly plot wickedness.

The different forms which this commission might take were discussed at some length in the July number of this magazine. They differ in detail but the essential idea of Publicity is common to all. Two bills to establish such a commission were introduced in the United States Senate at its last session.

The plan of Senator Newlands provides for a commission of three members, with liberal salaries and a long term of office. The powers given are chiefly those of visitation, examination, investigation and publication. All the essential facts of organization, condition and methods of all corporations doing a business of more than \$5,000,000 a year, are to be reported at regular intervals and so much of this report as seems expedient may be published. The commission may on its own motion, whenever it seems desirable, make a fuller investigation of the affairs of any concern and publish its findings.

The plan of Senator Cummins calls for all this and more. In his bill the commission is charged with the duty of preserving competition, by preventing any concern from employing an undue proportion of the capital engaged in the industry. To prevent too great a community of interest interlocking directorates and dummy directors are forbidden, holding companies are forbidden, and also the ownership of one corporation by another. The close association of the officers of great corporations with the banking power is also hindered by preventing such officers from acting as directors of banks. Both of these plans recognize and rely upon the overwhelming power of public opinion, the greatest force in the world. The publicity of wrongdoing would have a wonderful effect. The consumer of the product would benefit no less than the investor in the securities of the corporation. Labor would find some of its demands answered, and finally the citizen who generally falls into one or more of the other divisions as well, would be relieved.

What of the Captain of Industry Under a Régime of Publicity?

In one aspect the Captain of Industry is a public benefactor, in another a menace. So long as he was satisfied with his proper functions, he was a constructive force. Many have been seduced from their proper function

by the lure of illegitimate profits. Publicity of corporate affairs would make such profits impossible of attainment and their energies would be turned back into their proper channels. *The proper function of the Captain of Industry is to make the most effective combinations of men and materials of production, a task difficult enough, and important enough to absorb the whole energy of any man.* This task he would be compelled to undertake, or else surrender his command to another more fit. He would cease to be a speculator and would again become a manufacturer.

The present erratic and unsatisfactory method of "regulation by lawsuit" would fall into disuse. The terror of the sword of the law would threaten only the guilty, instead of being waved before the eyes of all as at present. A sane and orderly procedure would succeed the present chaos.

When forced to cease relying on unfair methods, some of the Captains of Industry now accounted great will prove incapable and some of the great combinations will fall apart, for, as the investigations of the Bureau of Corporations have clearly shown, only those combinations with a substantial monopoly have been able to make exorbitant profits. As these concerns are forced to fight according to rules of fairness, the importance of the independents will increase.

Now let us survey the field over which we have come since this series began six months ago. It has covered much ground, has viewed the great problem from many different angles, and now let us gather together and formulate the impressions, the facts, and the principles developed in the discussion by summarizing the articles which have gone before.

We have found that our great problems which we have thought so new are really old. The problem of monopoly (which we have not yet reached in our industrial life) is as old as the ages, older than competition, in organized society at least. The mere problem of bigness is not new. Many times in history great aggregations of capital have appeared and have controlled a large share of the business, whatever it may have been.

The fact that a problem is old, does not make it less real, or less important, however, and the citizen has come to believe that the problems of present day Big Business are vital. At the same time he feels his ignorance, and his inability to learn the truth for himself. Both the methods and the results of Big Business are presented to him in the most contradictory forms. The citizen de-

mands to know the methods by which these results were reached. Then he can make up his mind whether there is inherent evil in bigness alone, a decision at which he has not yet arrived. The citizen is coming to feel that perhaps bigness is inevitable, but he does not know. He would like to keep active competition alive if it be possible, but he has learned that brutal, unrestrained competition must end in monopoly and he wishes to learn whether a tolerant competition is possible.

He has become convinced that some of the ills arise from the secrecy by which the policy of Big Business is shrouded. He has seen the value of publicity as a regulator of public utilities, and in political affairs, and he is disposed to determine its value in industrial and commercial undertakings. He has a feeling that it will correct many of the evils which he fears. He feels that he has a right to do this, for the good of the whole of society is superior to the selfish interests of a few.

We have seen also that Big Business has entered many fields. Naturally, banking, the most logical of trusts, because in it the economies of concentration are most obvious, has been invaded. While Mr. Atwood, in his sane and informing article (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for August), was able to find no formal organization, no president, no board of directors, he did find an uncrowned king. He found an amazing degree of concentration in the money-lending power, a decided community of interest among the great units. This great unformed, unorganized institution, the money trust, wields enormous power and wields it secretly, unsupervised and unchecked. This is one trust which economic laws called into being. For its evils, publicity is a palliative, if not a cure. Its transactions must be done in broad daylight.

One reason for the age-long contest between labor and capital has been the lack of standards by which the relative earning power of each might be measured. Another is the neglect of the fact that labor is not a mass but a collection of individuals, varying both in natural powers, in aptitude, and in skill. Only by restoring the individuality of the laborer, by erecting standards by which the attainment of each may be definitely measured is true progress possible. Here again publicity, in one sense, is a remedy for many existing ills, as Mr. Going showed in his singularly original article (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for September).

Another sin of Big Business is the deliberate deception of the investor by various methods which our present laws permit. By conceal-

ing earnings, withholding dividends, or declaring them when not earned, *in short*, by *omitting to give information the public has a right to know* these professors of High Finance have profited at the expense of their stockholders. Along with these sharp practices has developed a motley crew of practitioners of Low Finance whose frauds have created untold misery and developed dangerous unrest.

The duty of the government is plain. While it cannot and should not prevent its citizens from taking risks, it must replace the old principle of *caveat emptor*, "let the buyer beware," by a new attitude. The information necessary for wise investment, information which few individuals can secure for themselves, must be made accessible to all, and this can be done only by governmental action. Under the fierce, white light of publicity the rapacity of the buccaneers will be checked, and the nefarious schemes of the smaller swindlers will be thwarted, as Mr. Gleason has so convincingly shown. (See REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October.)

The increasing cost of living is driving many a man to desperation. Some of this increase is inevitable, but much of it is due to wasteful and expensive methods of distributing the product to the consumer. We may say that the problem of cheap production has been solved. The problem of cheaper distribution of these products remains. Mr. Atwood has shown (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for November) that some of the enormous cost with which the middleman is credited may be prevented by requiring full publicity of all agreements which might tend to avoid the wastes of competition, no matter how innocent they may be. Publicity, full and complete, will help to relieve the constantly increasing strain.

When we come to the Captain of Industry, the exponent of Big Business, we have seen that he will gain, no less than the citizens whom some of his activities have injured. He will lose his speculative profits which have come from juggling with the stock market, and he will no longer be able to cause the consumer to stand and deliver, but there are compensations. He will gain unmeasurably in public esteem, he will be freed from the apparent necessity of trampling the laws of his country under foot, and from uncertainty as to the action of the Department of Justice. Corrupt representatives of the people will no longer be able to hold him up and demand bribes, and he will no longer be afflicted with

total loss of memory, an unfortunate malady which has seized so many industrial and financial magnates on the witness stand.

Nor will his actual monetary gains necessarily be less. The energy which has been devoted to destroying competitors would work wonders if devoted to improving the efficiency of his plants. Increased efficiency means greater profits for him as well as cheaper goods for the consumer, and this increased efficiency would follow the transfer of the center of gravity from Wall Street to factories themselves.

Are There Real Objections to Publicity?

The plan which has been discussed in these pages was conceived by economists, and not by demagogues, or by the representatives of particular interests. It is not a partisan question and such considerations should not enter into the discussion or the decision. Of the two bills now pending in the Senate, one was introduced by a Democrat and the other by a Republican. Both Senators are members of the Committee on Interstate Commerce and took an active part in the work of the committee last winter.

Naturally the plan does not appeal to all. The type of business man mentioned in the opening paragraph of this article, objects to being forced to make any details of his business public, and would deny the right of the government to demand them. This attitude was fully discussed in the article published in July, and the fundamental fallacy was shown. It is not necessary to repeat the argument here. The hysterical agitator denounces the plan because it does not propose to destroy all business root and branch. Sane persons can, however, disregard the man who is willing to burn the barn to get rid of the rats.

It has been charged that this plan by attempting to regulate Big Business, thereby legalizes monopoly. Such a charge is foolish, and shows a sad confusion of thought. A condition exists. Whether or not we approve the concentration which has already taken place, these great organizations are here, and in some form or other are likely to remain. Shall we see that they keep within the laws as thus far interpreted, meanwhile collecting all the facts which will enable us to make a final decision, or shall we allow them to go their own way except as they are restrained by the fear of the Attorney General? Surely there can be but one answer.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHY THE PANAMA CANAL SHOULD BE FORTIFIED

THERE have been noticed in this department of the REVIEW during the past few years several articles dealing with the question of fortifications for the great waterway now approaching completion. Some of the writers have held that to fortify the Panama Canal would violate its neutralization, implied if not specifically mentioned in certain treaties, and that, therefore, as a matter affecting our national honor, we should see to it that no fortifications are constructed. Others have insisted that the guarantee of neutrality carries with it the right to adopt such measures as may be necessary to insure the fulfilment of that guarantee, and that this object can only be attained in two ways, namely (1) by the presence of the Navy in waters contiguous to both ends of the canal, or (2) by permanent fortifications.

At this time of writing the latest authoritative statement on the fortification question is an article in the *Scientific American* from the pen of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Assuming that the legal right of the United States to fortify the canal is now no longer seriously questioned, Mr. Stimson briefly summarizes the legal situation and then treats at some length the "necessity of fortifying the canal as a matter of national expediency." One point that is frequently lost sight of is, "that it is of vital importance to this country not only that the canal shall be open to our fleet in case of war, but that it shall be closed to the fleet of our enemy." This is the difference between an American canal and an international canal: the latter, "kept open and defended by agreement between the powers, from its very nature would have to be open to our opponent as well as to ourselves." Another feature that is often forgotten is that if the canal were not fortified, "it would destroy the tremendous protection which the continent of South America is to us at the present day." As Mr. Stimson rightly observes, "the three months which would be consumed by a foreign enemy in going around Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, might

make the difference between a successful defense or complete disaster on the part of those communities against which the attack was intended."

It has been objected that fortifications are unnecessary on the ground that the defense of the canal would be assured by our naval forces. Mr. Stimson considers that this objection "arises from a complete misconception of the true function of the navy."

The navy can be used to advantage only when operating on the offensive; and it will be free to operate in this manner and to go where it can do the most good, only when our vital interests are not dependent for protection on it alone. To relegate the navy to the rôle of passive defense, and to tie it down to one locality, would not only be the most expensive possible form of protection to the canal, but it would concede to the enemy at once the command of the sea, and permit him to operate unhampered, without danger of interference by our fleet, against all other portions of our coast line. . . . To secure an effective protection for the canal by means of naval forces only, without at the same time unduly exposing our seacoast to naval attack, would involve an expenditure for battleships so great as probably to be found prohibitive. An equal degree of protection can be maintained by means of fortifications and a military garrison at a very small percentage of such cost.

Another objection is that it will be impracticable to secure the successful defense of the canal because of its isolation with respect to the United States. To this Mr. Stimson replies:

The fact is, on the contrary, that the Panama Canal Zone is unique in its possibility for reinforcement from the United States. Situated as it is upon two oceans, its position lends itself better to a successful defense than does any other of our oversea possessions. . . . So long as the United States holds the canal, it will be impracticable for the enemy to interrupt communication in both oceans; and consequently the garrison of the Canal Zone can always be reinforced by troops from the United States.

The objection, urged by the late Admiral Evans, that the topography at the Atlantic terminus of the canal was unfavorable for the construction of fortifications sufficiently

strong "to keep a hostile fleet at such distance from the mouth of the canal as to prevent its destroying our fleet in detail as it emerges in column," was referred to the General Board of the Navy and found to be entirely unfounded.

The defenses to the Isthmus, upon which Congress has finally agreed, are divided into two general classes: (1) a seacoast armament with submarine mines at the termini of the canal, for protection against a sea attack and to secure a safe exit for our fleet in the face of a hostile fleet; (2) the construction of field works and a mobile force of troops to protect the locks and assure important utilities against an attack by land. Concerning these defenses Mr. Stimson gives the following interesting particulars:

The seacoast fortifications will include 16-inch, 14-inch, and 6-inch rifles, and 12-inch mortars. This armament will be of more powerful and effective types than that installed in any other locality in the world. At the Atlantic end of the canal the armament will be located on both sides of Limon Bay. At the Pacific end the greater part of the armament will be located on several

small islands, Flamenco, Perico and Naos, which lie abreast of the terminus. Submarine mines will complete the seacoast armament and will prevent actual entry into the canal and harbors by hostile vessels.

In addition to these fortifications, and the necessary coast artillery and garrison to man them, the defensive plans provide for the erection of field works, and for the maintenance at all times on the Panama Canal Zone of a mobile force consisting of three regiments of infantry, at a war strength of nearly 2000 men for each regiment, a squadron of cavalry, and a battalion of field artillery. These latter fortifications and the mobile garrison are intended to repel any attacks that might be made by landing parties from an enemy's fleet against the locks and other important elements or accessories to the canal. As an attack of this character might be coincident with or even precede an actual declaration of war, it is necessary that a force of the strength above outlined should be maintained on the Canal Zone at all times. This mobile garrison will furnish the necessary police force to protect the zone and preserve order within its limits in time of peace. Congress has made the initial appropriations for the construction of these fortifications, and they are now under construction. A portion of the mobile garrison is also on the Isthmus, and the remainder will be sent there as soon as provision is made for its being housed.

SMOKING AND FOOTBALL PLAYERS

THE question, "to smoke or not to smoke," if one is a football player, would seem to have been conclusively answered, assuming that the data collected by Dr. Frederick J. Pack, of the University of Utah, and published by him in the *Popular Science Monthly*, are to be relied upon. These data establish the following suggestive points: (1) Only half as many smokers as non-smokers are successful in the try-outs for football squads. (2) In the case of able-bodied men smoking is associated with loss in lung capacity amounting to practically 10 per cent. Incidentally they show that smoking is invariably associated with low scholarship, and that smokers furnish twice as many conditions and failures as do non-smokers.

The facts presented by Dr. Pack in his interesting study of this question are based upon information received from coaches and athletic directors of fourteen American colleges and universities; and on the blanks on which the particulars were supplied the following footnote appeared: "By 'smoker' is meant one who habitually smokes when not in training and not an individual who indulges at very infrequent intervals." Data relating to try-outs were received from six institutions only as follows:

	No. Competing	No. Successful	Per Cent. Successful
Smokers	93	31	33.3
Non-smokers.....	117	77	65.8

It will thus be seen that only half as many smokers as non-smokers were successful in gaining the coveted positions.

In the fourteen institutions reporting, the total number of football men was 248, of whom 109, or 44 per cent. were smokers, and 139, or 56 per cent. were non-smokers, as will appear from the following list:

	Smokers	Non-Smokers	Total
Amherst College.....	9	9	18
Drake University.....	2	9	11
Haverford College.....	4	17	21
Michigan Agricultural College.....	3	14	17
Northwestern College.....	12	5	17
Tulane University.....	7	14	21
U. S. Naval Academy.....	7	5	12
University of Colorado.....	5	7	12
University of Kansas.....	10	9	19
University of Montana.....	12	7	19
University of Pennsylvania.....	12	12	24
University of Tennessee.....	11	10	21
Western Maryland College.....	7	12	19
Yankton College.....	8	9	17
	109	139	248

The two classes of men were practically of the same age and weight, the average age of the smokers being 21.91 years and that of the non-smokers 21.04 years, while the average weight of the smokers was 161.5 lbs. and that

of the non-smokers 161.0 lbs. But, though the differences in age and weight were both in favor of the smokers, in lung capacity the non-smokers of six institutions reporting showed an advantage of 22.6 cubic inches, as indicated in the subjoined table:

Number of Men	Average Weight	Average Age	Average Lung Capacity
Smokers.....	47 162.9 lbs.	21.06 yrs.	286.3 cu.in.
Non-smokers.....	61 159.6 "	20.88 "	308.9 "
Difference.....	3.3 "	.18 yr.	22.6 "

The difference in favor of the non-smokers thus amounts to 7.3 per cent. It is worth noting that in not a single institution of the six reporting was the difference in lung capacity in favor of the smokers, the advantage with the non-smokers ranging from 5.8 to 38.7 cu. in.

Information was solicited concerning the ability of the men as all-round football players, the athletic directors of the various institutions being asked to classify their men as "fair," "good," and "very good." The replies showed the following ratings for the fourteen institutions:

Number of Men	Fair	Good	Very Good
Non-smokers.....	139 68	50	21
Smokers.....	109 49	39	21
109 non-smokers would furnish.....	53.3	39.2	16.5

At first sight it would appear that smokers make the better football players; but, as Dr. Pack suggests, certain points should be kept in mind when interpreting the results here presented. Thus:

In the case of the "very good" men only forty-two individuals are involved, a number rather small from which to draw reliable conclusions. A single institution reporting four or five "very good" smokers or non-smokers and none of the other group (as several institutions have done) is quite sufficient to swing the totals one way or the other.

Even if the above data were perfectly reliable, there is still another vital point to be kept in mind. In the items of "try-outs" only half as many smokers as non-smokers were successful. In other words, only the very best smokers were chosen, while with the very best non-smokers a group of second-grade non-smokers was included. At the beginning of the football season when the selections were made the first and second grade non-smokers combined were equal to the first grade smokers.

Furthermore, it is a well known fact that of two men, a smoker and a non-smoker, of equal ability at the time of beginning training, the smoker will develop into a better man than the non-smoker. This is the case because the non-smoker before training, is very much more nearly at his best than is the smoker. As soon, therefore, as the smoker begins training (and consequently stops using tobacco) he has a much better chance for improvement than the non-smoker, who has not been kept back by the use of tobacco. If smoking does not in any way injure one's ability on the football field, the smokers and the non-smokers should supply an equal percentage of the "very best" men.

Now, when it is borne in mind that in the "try-outs" only one half as many of the smokers are chosen as non-smokers, it follows as a simple mathematical deduction that the smoking football men should supply twice as many "very good" men as the non-smokers, a position which, if the above tabulated data were wholly reliable, they come far from reaching.

From the foregoing it is evident that the apparent superiority of the smokers is really an inferiority.

WILL CHRISTIANITY BE THE WORLD-RELIGION?

THE problem of the future, which is already knocking at our door, is this: as the solidarity of humanity becomes more and more an actuality, as East and West meet, for meet they must, as civilization and culture spread among the savage peoples, the necessity of a world-religion will become imperative. Will Christianity, as we know it, be that religion? Will it be Christianity, modified by the influence of other faiths? Shall we have an amalgam of many religions? These questions are propounded by Principal A. E. Garvie, in the *International Review of Missions*, in an article entitled "The Christian Challenge to Other Faiths." This challenge "must be condemned as audacious and insolent" unless its justification can be proved on two grounds:

On the one hand, it must be shown that Christianity is the absolute religion, meeting adequately and finally the necessities and the aspirations of the soul of man; and that therefore its missionary intention is warranted by its universal value for mankind. On the other hand, it needs to be proved that whatever truth and worth there may be in the other religions, yet even at their best they do not fully meet the religious needs to which they bear witness, and are still less capable of evoking and completing that higher development of man as a moral and spiritual personality which is found only where the influence of the Christian gospel has been felt.

Principal Garvie reminds his brethren in the mission field that the Christian Apostles had the conviction that what they had to offer was "the pearl of great price," to obtain which "the surrender of the most sacred possessions could not be regarded as too high a

price." The missionaries in the field to-day are "exposed to the twofold danger of lowering their claim for Christianity as the absolute religion for mankind, and of laying such stress on the good in other religions as to raise the question whether the missionary enterprise is not a mistake or a wrong." It is, however, to be remembered that while many converts have been won from heathenism by the labors of missionaries "who had a rigid and complete system of theology," yet so far "no moral and religious genius of the first order" has been brought over to Christ. In Dr. Garvie's judgment, "a fuller recognition of what is true and good in the beliefs, rites, and customs of other religions, and a greater readiness in every missionary to admit what is temporary and local in our own presentation of the gospel, seem to be necessary conditions of further progress."

In answering the questions at the beginning of this article, Dr. Garvie reminds his readers that religions have been classified as:

(1) Natural and ethical.

The religions in which prayers and sacrifices are offered to the gods to secure the supply of bodily needs are admitted to belong to a lower stage of religious development than those in which men seek the divine pardon of sin, purity of heart, peace of soul. Now Christianity is assuredly an ethical religion. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." This utterance declares the subordination of natural goods to the ethical good. . . . Test any of the other religions of the world by this principle, and does not Christianity remain in solitary supremacy?

(2) Spontaneous and founded.

There are many religions which are rooted in, and grow out of, the thought and life of the tribe or nation without any trace of an historical beginning and a personal founder. Such religions smell of the soil from which they have sprung, and will not bear transplanting. . . . When we are told we must not carry our English religion to India or China, we may recall the fact that Christianity is not a spontaneous but a founded religion. It is not the native religion of England, or indeed of any European land.

(3) National and universal.

Confucianism is a founded religion, yet. . . Confucianism as a whole is so bound up with the structure of Chinese society that it can lay no claim to universality either in capacity or intention. A religion which regards all strangers as "foreign devils" condemns itself as narrowly national. In Judaism too we have a religion inseparable from a race. . . . The political status of the Mohammedan states to-day is surely the judgment of history on its incapacity. . . . Enterprising and progressive nations cannot find in Buddhism a moral or religious guide. Can any comparison be

made between Mohammed and Jesus as regards personal worth? And even the Buddha, attractive as his personality is, falls far short in purity and beneficence of the Christ, while he offers only man's pity, not God's grace.

But while it may be conceded that Christianity alone can be the religion of mankind, this "must be a Christianity detached from the accretions which belong to it in the West, and adapted to the genius and ethos of each race." To quote Dr. Garvie further:

The Westminster Confession or the Thirty-nine articles, or even the Nicene or the Athanasian creed, do not assuredly give us the form in which Christianity is to be taught throughout the world. I at least cannot imagine that a sacramental priesthood or an historic episcopate is essential to a universal gospel. We must learn that no creed, or sect, or polity, fashioned in the conditions, conflicts, and controversies of the European Churches can be imposed on all races as alone valid and absolutely authoritative. But while sectarian ecclesiastics contend for their own "shibboleths," is there not a growing agreement among Christian scholars as to what is the original and essential Christianity,—the faith in God as Father, through Christ as Saviour, in the Spirit as renewer of man? Literary and historical criticism as applied to the New Testament and to the records of the Christian Church is an ally of the foreign mission enterprise in that it is surely, if slowly, separating the kernel from the husk, the gospel of the kingdom of God from all local and temporary forms, in which it has too often been buried rather than embodied. Scholarship is showing that forms which are claimed as "catholic," and thus as permanently and universally valid, were never so actually. The decisions of a majority can be called "catholic" only if we are prepared to deny the Christian name to the minority. The ecumenical creeds did not unite, but divided Christendom. There is to-day a movement toward unity among the Christian churches; of that movement the foreign mission enterprise is a potent factor.

There is, however, an adaptation of Christianity in China and India that might be a deformation. The aim of the Reformation was "to recover Christianity from adaptations to environment which had proved destructive."

Modern theology is seeking to free the doctrine of the Person of Christ from the Greek metaphysics, to which in the creeds it is adapted. Has Hindu metaphysics a higher claim than Greek? When an Indian writer rejects the Occidental Christ of the European missionary, and claims that India shall be left free to shape its Oriental Christ, we must try to save India from the mistake Western Christendom has made of localizing the universal. of temporalizing the eternal.

Does the gospel of Jesus the Christ need to be supplemented and corrected? "I have not," says Dr. Garvie, "yet discovered the reason for an affirmative answer."

HOW AUSTRALIA CARES FOR THE CHILDREN

THAT a country's first duty is to see to its children, as they are its most precious national asset; that to allow a single child to die who might, if properly cared for, live and thrive, is a blunder as well as a crime: it is to deprive the fatherland of one who might defend it and work for it, to throw away a possible source of national security and wealth, and thus to sin against the decrees of statecraft and political economy, as well as the decrees of humanity—these are the opinions held by the governing authorities of two countries on this globe of ours, Hungary and South Australia. In the *Contemporary Review* for October Miss Edith Sellers gives a most interesting account of the Australian experiment, she having already, some months ago, described in the same magazine what Hungary has done in a similar field.

It appears that in South Australia until early in the eighties destitute children were regarded and treated as little paupers. They were lodged in the same institutions and were under the same officials as paupers. But the government became alarmed at the spread of pauperism, and realized that, as far as it concerned the young, their poor-relief system was nothing but a system for increasing the supply of paupers. Then a clean sweep was made of all the arrangements in force for children, and subsequently a law was passed which brought about a complete change in their position. To quote from Miss Sellers' article:

No matter how poor and degraded a child may be, he—or she—does not rank as a pauper; he has nothing whatever to do with paupers or pauper authorities, and he may not be lodged in a pauper institution. If he be normal, indeed, he may not be lodged in an institution of any sort. For South Australians have set their hearts on having no paupers at all in their land; and they are firmly convinced that the only way they can escape having them is by bringing up the children for whom they are responsible in such a way as to secure their developing, so far as nature allows, into self-respecting, self-reliant, thrifty, hard-working men and women. And, as they have learnt by experience that this can rarely be done in institutions, they insist on their being brought up in homes, real homes, workingmen's cottages, just as they would be were they being provided for by their own parents, instead of by the state. They insist, too, on their being brought up in the country, amidst wholesome surroundings, and under conditions which, while insuring them against ill-treatment, give them the chance of leading free, happy, human lives—of making friends for themselves, while having their corners knocked off, and learning how to fight their own battles.

The relief of children is vested in the State Children's Council, which is virtually a Government department. The council's duties and powers are very comprehensive:

It is the official caretaker of all the children in the province who are maintained by the state, excepting those who are maintained together with their parents. It appoints local committees to act as caretakers of the children in a district, to watch over them, to see that they are properly clothed, housed and fed, that they go to school regularly, and that they are kindly treated.

The council can take into its own keeping any child, whether destitute or not, who is unruly, a truant, or a beggar, or whose parents are vagrants, drunkards, or criminal. In South Australia a father who does not provide proper food for his offspring, who allows them to live in unwholesome surroundings forfeits all claim to them.

Unless a father does his best for them, the council relieves him of the care of them, although not of the expense they entail. So long as he has a penny beyond what he must have to provide himself with bare necessities—tobacco and beer do not rank as necessities—that penny must go toward the cost of their maintenance. . . . His children are lost to him until such time as he can prove that he has changed his ways and may be trusted to bring them up properly. If he tries to communicate with them, he is fined £5 (\$25); and if he tries to obtain possession of them, he is fined £10 (\$50) and is imprisoned with hard labor for three months.

There are three state institutions for children, of which the council is director and controller, namely, a receiving house, a reformatory for boys, and a reformatory for girls. No woman may act as foster-mother without a license under a penalty of £20 (\$100). A child is boarded out on the subsidy system till it is thirteen, and then on the service system until eighteen, or in the case of certain girls till twenty-one.

Under both the subsidy system and the service, the council's wards are lodged with respectable working-class foster-parents, who, in the case of subsidy children, must live within easy walking distance of a good school. They must be fairly well off, industrious, and intelligent; and they must pledge themselves to treat their charges in all respects as if they were their own children—not only to be kind to them, but to have thought for them, and try to influence them for good. And care is taken to insure their keeping their pledge. In South Australia the law is stringent in what concerns persons who deal neglectfully or wrongfully with the state's wards. There "a foster-parent who shall ill-treat, injure, or neglect any

state-child . . . or who shall not well and truly do all that he or she has undertaken to do, is liable to a fine of £20 (\$100) and six months' imprisonment with hard labour." Any person, whether foster-parent or not, who shall assault, ill-treat, or injure any state-child may be fined £20 and be imprisoned with hard labor for six months; while any foster-parent who allows a subsidy child to stay away from school, even for a day, without good reason, is liable to a fine of £10 (\$50).

Under it [the subsidy system] children must be sent to school; and, beyond giving a helping hand to their foster-parents, must do no regular work. The fundamental difference between this system and the service system is that, whereas under the former the foster-parents are paid by the council for taking charge of the children, under the latter they pay for being allowed to keep them and have their services. No child may be boarded-out in a service home until it is thirteen; and while it is there it is practically an apprentice, although still a state-child under state protection. If a boy, his foster-father must be a skilled artisan or farmer, able and willing to teach him his craft and put him in the way of becoming a good craftsman. During the first three years the man has him, he must house, feed, and clothe him, and give him wages at the rate of 1s. a week for the first year, 1s. 6d. for the second, and 2s. for the third. During the fourth and fifth years he must house and feed him, and pay him 5s. a week during the fourth year, and 6s. during the fifth. During these two years the boy must provide himself with clothes. During the first three years three-fourths of his wages, and

during the last two not less than 1s. a week, must be deducted from his money and handed over to the council, which deposits it for him in the savings bank. . . .

Anyone who receives into her house a service girl must undertake to be a foster-mother to her as well as a mistress; to watch over her, help her, and keep her out of harm's way, while securing for her a fair amount of recreation. She must teach her housewifery, how to cook, clean and wash; she must teach her also how to make her own clothes; perhaps, too, if she can, how to trim her own hats. The law requires her not only to turn the girl, so far as she can into a good servant, but also to fit her to be a good citizen, a good wife and mother. It requires her, in fact, to do for her what she would do for her own daughter.

It is satisfactory to read that this service-home arrangement answers its purpose admirably both for boys and for girls. It insures their being well trained, while leading natural lives amid home influences and home surroundings. And it is noteworthy that cheapness is a marked characteristic of the whole South Australian system, the average cost of a boarded-out state-child having been last year 2 shillings (24 cents), if a service child, and about 5s. 8d. (\$1.36) a week if a subsidy child. Moreover the death-rate among the children last year was only 1.9 per cent.

THE CONTEMPORARY THEATER IN CHINA

THE astounding political changes of recent occurrence in China stimulate our interest in such changes as may occur in the intellectual and artistic development of the people. A first step towards intellectual advancement has already been taken in the substitution of a phonetic alphabet for the ancient method of composition, which involved the committing to memory of no fewer than 8000 idiograms.

This change alone will doubtless have a far-reaching influence on every form of literature, including the drama.

Of the present state in China of the art of the theater comparatively little has been written. We quote from an excellent article on the subject by G. de Banzemont in *La Revue*.

In Europe the theater is considered one of the expressions of civilization. The nations, in their diversity, find therein the mirror of their peculiar genius, their ideals, their temperament, their character, their qualities and lacks, their virtues and faults, their passions and aspirations. All the idiosyncrasy of Athens is in the comedies of Aristophanes, all that of Paris in Molière, as the Scandinavian soul is in Ibsen, and the Slavic in Tolstoy.

At the moment when China awakes from its

apparent secular torpor, changes the axis of its destiny, opens a breach in its famous wall to allow the passage of modern currents, it is interesting to study its dramatic evolution.

The Chinese have indeed no Aristophanes, no Molière, no Shakspeare, but their tragic or comic authors are not ignorant of irony and emotion, or of the art of depicting intrigue or action. . . . Like ourselves they borrow their scenes from history or from ordinary life and carry extravaganza into the domain of fantasy. They create types of heroes of every class, misers, Tartuffes, prodigals, libertines. Their Don Juan, whom they call Lu-Chai-Lang, is close kin to the seducer of Seville. . . .

While tradition has it that the Chinese theater mounts to as remote an antiquity as the 18th century B. C., the author believes that in fact its beginnings may be found considerably later than the miracle plays and mysteries of Europe, in the dynasty of Youen.

The learned, despising the vulgarity of these productions, excluded them from their works, their libraries, and their catalogues. Hence, out of over 500 pieces whose names are known, only a few remain, which constitute to-day almost the whole repertory. . . . Scenic representations accompany religious festivals. Every year, at the period when the tutelary divinities of the locality are venerated, a pavilion of bamboo and cloth, with

a straw mat for roof is erected in front of the temple. These are large enough to hold a thousand persons, and the cost is defrayed by assessment.

The stage is a platform with two doors. The actors enter all together by one and leave by the other. There is no curtain and no *entr'acte*. When an act is finished the characters go off and others succeed them. There are a dozen pieces, generally of one act each.

The public crowds into pit and balcony, the orchestra being reserved for functionaries. Entrance is free but refreshments are paid for.

The audience is seated on benches before which are tables on which food and drink are served.

The stage is oriented towards the south, east, or north, but never towards the west, which is the dangerous quarter menaced by the White Tiger. The decorations are represented by tables piled one on top of another, indicating mountains to be scaled, ramparts to be taken by assault, or serving on occasion for the exercises of acrobats. The actor takes his tea as well as the public; interrupting himself to empty his cup, and then returning to his rôle.

The costumes are of silk or gold and silver brocade when worn by an emperor, a general, or a dignitary. Citizens, merchants, and poor devils are dressed simply as in real life. Emperors and phantoms don horrifying masks with huge beards. The others paint the face in colors, but the nose is always white.

When an actor enters he declares his name and business. A protagonist who is supposed to appear on horseback merely bestrides a stick on which he prances back and forth. The audience accepts him with perfect gravity as a skilled cavalier.

All the rôles are filled by men, female parts being taken by young boys. . . . The feminine public has been denied access to the theater since the end of the eighteenth century, when the mother of an emperor desired to become an actress against her son's wishes.

Each theater is directed by an impresario who collects a company, composed, ordinarily, of 56 actors who have been trained for the stage since their ninth year. A skilled actor should know from 100 to 200 parts perfectly, since there is no prompter.

As in the early days of the European drama the profession is held in contempt by the public, enjoying even less public esteem than

that of the common executioner! Each actor is supposed to be equally proficient in tragedy, comedy, and farce, but those who play dignitaries do not assume humbler parts.

Likewise reminiscent of Elizabethan days is the fact that the rich have private theaters, the actors being considered domestics. However they are well paid and allowed certain privileges. To these performances ladies are invited. They attend, escorted by their servants, and the program is always submitted to them beforehand, nothing licentious or shocking being permitted. In the public theaters the impresario takes 20 per cent. of the receipts, the remainder being divided among the cast, famous actors receiving a bonus.

The plays are both military and civil, taken from history or contemporary life.

There are historic and religious dramas, comedies of character and of intrigue, mythologic pieces and judicial scenes. The police lay snares for thieves, who mockingly evade them as in our *guignol*. We find vaudeville situations, scabrous *équivoques*, broad and spicy dialogues, the surprises of marriage, the ruses of the lover, the artifices of women curious of adventure, the unexpected appearances of husbands, and wrath attended by explanations and exculpations. Usually the language is adapted to the action. It is frequently trivial, and obscenity is not banished, whence the accusation of immorality, which is hardly justified.

The dramatic repertory in fact, differs little from ours, but with less refinement and less subtlety.

We can not enter on the description of different plays here, but may specify the one known as the "Ball of Flowers," of which de Banzemont remarks:

Grace, delicacy, and poetry are united in this charming work, whose author has written in verse, and which has a freshness equal to that of the loveliest compositions of a Gabriel Nicond or a Zamacois.

ALTRUISM AMONG ANIMALS

ABOUT twenty years ago the eminent Russian zoölogist K. Kessler, referring to what he termed "the dreams of Darwinism," demonstrated that all animal biology was traceable in reality to the instigations of hunger and of love, the former determining the struggles to assure satisfaction of the appetite, summed up in the maxim "Each for himself;" the latter, on the contrary, inviting conciliation and association. This tendency toward association is a characteristic not of the human race only, but of the

animals generally. The individual left to himself must provide for his wants or perish as the victim of obstacles and accidents which he cannot surmount, save by a community of effort. The fact that animals are fully conscious of this obligation of aid received and rendered, is now well established. Some remarkable proofs of this are furnished by M. G. Roux in *La Revue* (Paris), one of the most curious being that afforded by certain ants. In describing the "visiting ants" of West Africa and their peculiarities, he says:

The *Anomma arcens* of West Africa, commonly known as the "visiting ant," evinces some extremely interesting peculiarities. About a centimetre in length, it is as nomadic as voracious, attacking man during sleep as well as animals—rats, mice, poultry, etc., among which it pursues its work of destruction. Woe to those whom it surprises defenceless in the woods. Existing in legions it pounces on its victims with ferocity, with its powerful mandibles, which grip like pincers, tearing out the eyes and lacerating the body. Even enormous serpents and giant monkeys become its prey. A veritable band of exterminators, these ants travel only at night, hiding during the day in the grass or under fallen trees. At times, when failing to find shelter from the burning rays of the sun, they take heroic action. Then they may be seen to brave even death courageously. The vanguard sets to work and with a secretion from the mouth kneads the earth or clay and rapidly constructs a gallery, an arched passage, so to speak, which serves to protect the march of the rest of the army.

M. Roux relates some other equally remarkable actions of these ants, such as forming a living bridge to cross ponds, rolling themselves into a compact ball which is steered across a stream by ants upon the surface. In these and similar cases there seems to be no hesitation on the part of some of the insects in sacrificing their lives for the good of the mass.

Sociability among mammifers is no less remarkable; several illustrations are given by M. Roux. He says in substance:

Among the rats and mice of the house, the granary and the field this characteristic is not apparent so long as they do not embark on a distant expedition. The reciprocal invitations of the rodents exist only in the pages of Horace or La Fontaine. But when the animals flock together to seek fresh habitations they accomplish prodigies of association, rendering one another mutual aid. They traverse ponds, even rivers, forming bridges of the bodies of the stronger of them, over which the feeble and less courageous pass in safety.

Certain animals, as the marmots of the Russian steppes and the chamois of the Pyrenees, post sentinels and scouts to warn of approaching danger, while the beavers in their marvelous work of dam-building do not fail to call on their fellows for aid if, for instance, they find a branch which they desire to use is too stout for them to break individually.

A remarkable fact to which M. Roux calls attention is that altruism among animals is exercised not only in association, but by individuals to individuals and under conditions which leave no room for doubt as to the sentiments that evoke it. Totally different species, too, will help each other from no other motive than sympathy. He cites a number of examples in support of this. Among the most interesting is that of the African rhinoceros and the buphagus bird.

In Africa it is no uncommon sight to see a rhinoceros in company of a buphagus, a small passerine bird of the beef-eater family. The pachyderm is infested with vermin which suck its blood and cause it atrocious sufferings. Happily, the bird perched on the neck or the head of the animal, like a woodpecker on a tree, delivers it from the intolerable punishment, chasing the enemy, which it snaps and eats, constantly searching for it in the folds of the skin. It does more. When the rhinoceros, overborne by the heat of the sun, seeks repose in sleep, the bird suddenly by a little cry will warn it of the approach of danger. A similar association exists between the ratel and a certain bird in tropical Africa. The ratel, a small badger-like animal, is very fond of honey. The bird does not care for the honey, but it feeds on the larvæ of bees. When the bird discovers honey in a rock, it acquaints its friend, which, after gorging itself, leaves the larvæ to the bird.

In Argentina the association of birds and quadrupeds is common. There one may see swallows and hares sharing the same lodging and so familiar that they come and go together. When in the spring the swallow seeks other shores, the hare grieves at its departure and impatiently awaits its return. The little swallows are endowed with affection and good nature, which, according to the father of positivism, are the characteristics of altruism. The Argentinians will tell you that they often see the swallows arriving from their sea voyage on the shoulders of some crane which sympathetically transports them, and to which they express their obligations by little cries unintelligible to man, but which in the bird language signify thanks. When the hare sees them again, it manifests its joy by leaping around them, and, if one may judge by their gestures, the companions relate their several adventures.

But perhaps the most extraordinary of all such associations is that of certain crustaceans and marine plants, of which the hermit crab and the sea anemone furnish a curious example. M. Roux says of this crab and its association with the anemone:

This crab, constantly at war with its fellows, has, in spite of its strong, pincer-like claws, certain dangers to provide against. It is vulnerable in the abdomen, as Achilles was in the heel, and thus finds itself without defence against an enemy better armed. It therefore seeks, in default of a cuirass, an empty shell in which it hides its body, protruding only the claws and head. When it becomes too large for the shell, it perforce has to seek a new and larger one. Now the sea anemone frequently attaches itself to the shells in which these crabs live, forming, so to say, the crown of the habitation. When the crustacean is compelled to change its dwelling, it detaches the anemone with the greatest precaution, and places it on its new casque.

Whether this proceeding is prompted by warlike vanity or by a love of the panache, it attests, in the view of the writer, from whom we have been quoting, the existence of zoölogical altruism.

AUSTRIA AND THE ALBANIAN QUESTION

THE attitude of Austria-Hungary toward the new situation that has been created in the Near East by the action of the Balkan States is so equivocal that it is evident the readjustment of the territorial division of the Balkan Peninsula cannot be effected without some outside interference. The cause for it is in the solicitude of the Dual Monarchy for the interests it has always had in the countries lying between its southern boundary and the Egean Sea, and bordering the eastern side of the Adriatic. Austria-Hungary has ever regarded that part of the Balkan Peninsula west of Servia and Bulgaria and north of Greece as more or less within her sphere of influence while the Turk remained in Europe, and subject to her occupation when the day might come for him to take his departure.

So firmly was this idea rooted in the Ball Platz at Vienna that after the Congress of Berlin the Austro-Hungarian Government proposed to the British Government that England should undertake the organization of the civil administration of what is now called Macedonia, while Austria would occupy it with her troops. This proposition was promptly rejected by the British Government and events were left to take their course, to arrive in the fullness of time at the conditions we now see. In view of this fact the present equivocal attitude is natural, and she has an additional motive for it in the existence of Albania which has little affinity for its eastern neighbors.

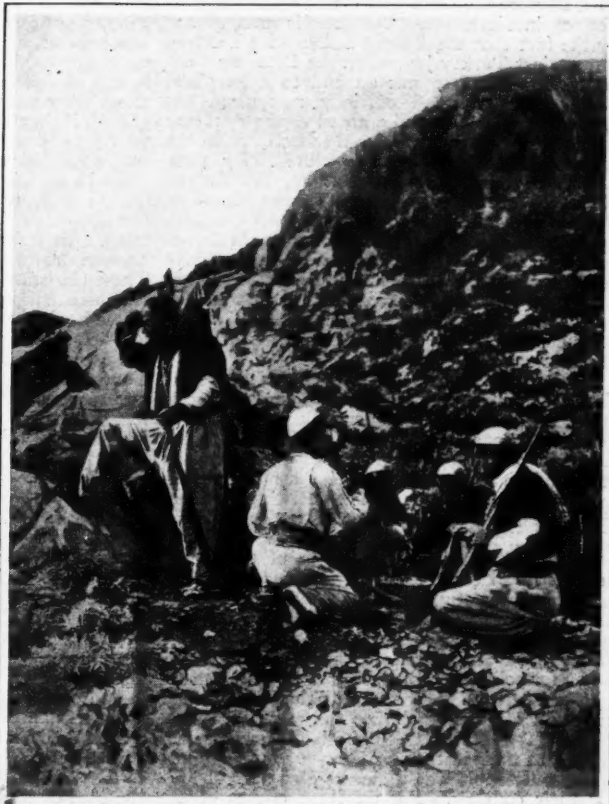
The consideration of this last phase of the Balkan question leads up to many possibilities. Assuming the reports that Austria-Hungary favors the creation of an autonomous Albanian state between Montenegro and Greece to be true, the fixing of its eastern boundaries would be more than likely to raise serious trouble with Servia which has occupied large sections of Al-

banian territory, and perhaps also with Bulgaria. That Russia already has interested herself in Albanian matters there is evidence from an unexpected quarter—no less than the spokesmen for the Albanian Christians of the Eastern Orthodox Church here in the United States. It comes in the form of a letter addressed to the Dean of the Russian Church in New York by the Priests of the Albanian Orthodox Christians in Boston. A noteworthy feature about it is the intense animosity exhibited by the Albanians toward the Greeks.

THE CHRISTIAN ALBANIANS AND THE BALKAN WAR:
AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN SYNOD,
*To the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory of
the Russian Church.*

REVEREND FATHERS AND BROTHERS IN CHRIST:

In a letter we had the honor to receive from the Very Reverend Father Alexander Hotovitzky, Dean of the Russian Cathedral of New York, we



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MALISSORI TRIBESMEN OF NORTHERN ALBANIA

(A recent snapshot amid the crags of Mount Klementi on the Montenegrin frontier)

were asked some information about the attitude of the Christian Albanians of America in the Balkan war. Although the Very Rev. Dean's letter is of a more or less private character, and although he declares that he does not mean by his friendly inquiries to interfere in any way with our views,—we feel it a duty, in order to avoid any mistaken interpretation of our attitude, to take up the whole question and explain openly the nature and the causes of our policy. If we succeed in making our reasons clear, we feel sure that the Most Reverend Fathers of the Holy Synod, and through them our Holy Mother the Orthodox Church and the noble Russian Nation will understand our point of view and do justice to our feelings.

The Christian Albanians are whole-heartedly united with the Turks and desperately defending their fatherland against the foreign invaders. The explanation of this statement is easy to give and easy to understand.

One has only to open a map of the Balkan peninsula to see that Albanian territory is the battlefield of the Greek, Montenegrin and Servian armies. It is obvious to any student of Balkan politics that, should the Turks lose, Albania will be divided among the belligerent Balkan States and done with forever. Among Albanians of all creeds and political parties the idea prevails that this war is nothing else than an attempt to crush the Albanian nation before it is in a position to oppose aggressions against its rights. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the Balkan States have declared war against Turkey just when the Ottoman Government, wishing to put an end to a long and bloody rebellion, had officially recognized the Albanian nationality and granted us the right and freedom to reopen our national schools, which the former cabinet had brutally closed. By their sudden aggression against Turkey, the Balkan allies have succeeded in preventing the Albanians from enjoying natural rights that did not encroach upon the rights of anybody else and could do nobody harm. The agreement between the Ottoman government and the Albanians marked the end of a long era of moral sufferings and exceptional injustice. These are the national reasons of our attitude. There are other reasons of a different character.

One reason that makes the Albanians throw their lot with the Turks under the circumstances, is this fact: first, that the allied Balkan States have done in the past more harm than Turkey to the Albanian people; and second, that the Albanians are convinced they would receive a more pitiless treatment at the hands of the Christian invaders than they have ever received at the hands of Turks. You are well acquainted, through our reports in the past, with the unheard of crimes of the Greek prelates in Southern Albania: Need we recall to your minds the stupidly solemn anathemas, thundered by the Greek bishops against our national language, their wholesale excommunications of Orthodox Albanian patriots, the refusals of sacraments for political reasons, their army of informers who denounced to the authorities and ruined hundreds of families during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, their bands of criminals who assassinated at their instigation laymen and clergymen whose only fault was a sincere and natural love for their country? For all these crimes of the Greek Bishops, we call to witness the Bulgarians themselves who have suffered at their hands as much as we have.

An example of what the Albanians are to expect in case of a Christian victory is given by the action of Servia after the treaty of Berlin, when a slice of Albanian territory had been given to Servia. That Christian state carried out the work of civilizing the annexed territory by deporting 100,000 of Albanians, confiscating their property without granting any indemnification and causing thousands to die from hunger and exposure. We challenge any Servian patriot who knows the history of his country to deny this gross and barbarous injustice.

As to the Montenegrins, it would seem that we repay with ingratitude the hospitality tendered by them to the refugees during the uprising of the Malissori, or Albanian highlanders, two years ago. The truth, however, is the King of Montenegro has been paid by the Young Turks ten times over the price of the miserable corn that he gave to the wretched refugees and, as soon as he received the money, he compelled the Albanian insurgents to accept the terms of the Young Turks and so return to their homes without any guarantee for their safety. As a proof that the royal house of Montenegro has no other regards than those of money, and that the above assertion is not slander, we beg the permission to recall to the minds of the Russians that, during the Russo-Japanese war, the Russian government, owing to financial difficulties, withheld the annual subvention to the King of Montenegro, and that a reply, as incredible as it was heinous, came from Cetinje in the form of a toast, proposed by the crown prince Danilo for the health of Admiral Togo, and of the gallant Japanese army and navy.

And, if they were so ungrateful towards Russia, who sacrificed millions of lives and billions of rubles for their emancipation, we could not expect them to be fair and just towards the Albanians. They accuse us at the present moment of taking the side of the Turks in a struggle against Christians. To this vile declaration we have a ready answer, drawn from their own policy in the past. These Christian States, in order to stamp out the Albanian nationality, did not shrink from giving whole-hearted support to the deposed Red Sultan and being, under the cover of benevolent neutrality, the accomplices of the bloody expeditions of the Young Turks against Albania. In order to defend our fatherland against the foreign invaders, we feel it our duty to be loyal to a Sultan, whose life is without blemish, and support a government that dealt in a just and fair way with the Albanian nation.

We want, however, to make it clear that we do not oppose the allied states of the Balkans out of hatred for the races which compose them, but on account of their unjust policy and their arrogant pretensions to civilize the Illyrian peninsula. We appreciate such virtues as they have but we deplore the fact that they are wasting their energies in an unjust war calculated only to gratify the ambitions of their rulers and their petty "politiciens de café." The task they set before themselves is, in the opinion of all impartial observers, beyond their permanent power and moral capacity. It is a well known fact that the civilization of the Christians of the Balkan States is by far inferior to that of the Turks. This is as true as it was in the case of the fanatical crusaders of the Middle Ages in comparison with the Moslem Arabs, who possessed a highly developed civilization. The Bulgarians, the Greeks and Servians, committed

in Macedonia against each other horrors of an unspeakable nature, for which one would look in vain in the Turkish history. They are going to repeat them and jump at each other's throats over the spoils, if they prove successful in their present war. Europe has but to wait and see. But we hope this will never happen, and that the Ottoman army will drive back these invaders intoxicated with ambition, and quiet them down once for all.

These in brief are the reasons that make the Albanians feel more confident under the crescent of the Turks than under the unchristian cross of the allied Balkan States. The Albanians think that this is not a war of Christianity against Mohammedanism but a mere attempt of the Greeks and the spurious Balkan Slavs to extend their frontier lines mostly at the expense of Albania. The Turks are simply fighting our battles. Our people realize this so well that, when we called them to express their opinion in several meetings in the East as well as in the West, they unanimously adopted the resolution to forget all their grievances against the Turks and to stand by the Ottoman government as one man. And not only that, but they clamored for prayers for the victory of the Ottoman armies. We did in consequence pray for their success, at Boston, Southbridge, Mass.; Biddeford, Me.; Jamestown, N. Y.; and Akron, Ohio. We saw our people weep when prayers were offered to God to crown with victory the armies of the Sultan. These same men would have stoned us and the Moslem Albanian patriots themselves would have been the first ones to throw the stone, had we made such an attempt a few months before.

We did our best, Reverend Fathers, to explain to you the attitude of the Albanian people in these circumstances and we think that it is as logical as it looks paradoxical. We feel it our duty to do our utmost to defend our country against the

foreign invaders, in her struggle for life and death. We are sure that like magnanimous Russians, you will appreciate our patriotic feelings, even if your point of view differs from our own, and that the sympathies of your nation for the allied Balkan States will not prevent you from doing justice to our cause. Attacked on all sides by hypocritical and treacherous Christians, Albania can find no better refuge than the banner of the crescent. Should Albania come victorious out of this war, our nation will be deeply grateful to the Holy Synod of Russia for recognizing in the United States a national Albanian Church, that may become to-morrow the Church of Albania. Should we lose and survive our national disaster, we shall humbly beg you to let us spend the rest of our miserable lives in some far off Russian monastery in Siberia.

Praying to God for the speedy end of a war, which as Christians and Priests we deplore, we remain,

Your respectful and obedient servants,
The Albanian priests of America.

FAN S. NOLI.

NAUM V. CERÉ.

(Signed)

The foregoing suggests many reflections, one of them being that Austria may think it to her advantage to bring within the bounds of her composite empire a population of mixed religions, Moslem, Catholic and Eastern Orthodox, but racially a unit and non-Slav. It would seem as though the Albanian question is likely to assume an important feature of the readjustment that, whatever turn it may take, is bound to follow the events of the past two months.

FEMINISM'S NEW PROPHETESS

A LONDON weekly review, not yet a year old, recently caused great excitement among the English newspapers. It was said that this review was a medium of "literature of an abnormal, immoral, and dangerous character." Also that it stood for "free love," anarchy, and other, dark and dangerous doctrines. Though it has been said that the new journal was published under the ægis of the suffragists, the fact is that "the latter, especially the militants, are fighting it with all their might." The reason is, says Frances Maule Björkman in the *Forum*, that the *Freewoman*, that being the journal in question, is "spiking the suffragists' game." We read:

The suffragists, both in England and America, have been trying all these years to convince the public that they were asking to be free only in order that they might serve the more effectively. This is the keynote of the most modern of the suffrage literature and the theme of every suffrage "soap-boxer." Nor is this attitude confined to the

suffragists. The women who have won nationwide recognition for their social services—the Jane Addamses and Florence Kelleys—show that their demand for wider opportunities for women is based on their appreciation of women's untapped capacity for "usefulness." Then came the *Freewoman* with the incredible heresy that . . . the woman movement was nothing if not an effort on the part of women to lift themselves forever out of the "servant" class and to place themselves definitely and finally among the "masters"—using their faculties, like all masters, for the upbuilding and development of their own personalities and the advancement of their own personal aims.

It admitted freely that this would entail enormous and fundamental changes in the social structure and in the relations of the sexes—that it would involve, first of all, the achievement of absolute economic independence of men by women; the repudiation, by women, of the marriage contract, at least in its present form; developments in domestic labor and administration so vast as to have all the outer aspects of "breaking up the home"; readjustments in the world of politics and industry great enough to accommodate double the present number of productive thinkers and workers, demanding, not only admission, but pay.

The raising of these issues was regarded as nothing less than an act of treachery, and the Women's Social and Political Union formally condemned the paper. It is stated, however, that the paper "has now, in less than a year's time, won for itself a secure position among a small but rapidly growing group of thinking people in England, and is beginning to find support and recognition in America." The editor is Miss Dora Marsden whose own articles "not only give the paper its unique quality—its originality, its honesty, its fearlessness—but chiefly warrant its claim for consideration as a social symptom." Of the young lady herself the *Forum* writer gives the following particulars:

This extraordinary young woman has shot into the literary and philosophic firmament as a star of the first magnitude. Although practically unknown except as a settlement worker and a suffragist before the advent of *The Freewoman* last November, she speaks always with the quickly authoritative air of the writer who has arrived. Her style has beauty—at times, great beauty—as well as force and clarity. Merely as an essayist she compels admiration and makes us wonder why we have never heard of her before.

Miss Marsden [who is a Lancashire woman] was graduated from Manchester University with the degree of B. A. and took up teaching as her profession, working incidentally in the University Settlement.

Immediately after Christabel Pankhurst's first militant protest, Miss Marsden threw herself heart and soul into the militant suffrage movement—even leaving her post as teacher to become an organizer for the Women's Social and Political Union. When challenged to explain this fact in view of her present hostile attitude toward the W. S. P. U., Miss Marsden stated editorially in *The Freewoman* that at that time she believed that she was allying herself with a general woman emancipation movement, which, she found later, was not the case. In the meantime, however, she ran the full gamut of suffragette experiences. She served two months in Holloway Gaol for her all too gallant defense of "the colors" in the clash between the police and the Lancashire women's deputation to the House of Commons in 1909. She

went through the hunger strike and was strait-jacketed in Strangeways Gaol in Manchester, where she had been committed for throwing a rock through the glass roof of a hall in which a Cabinet Minister's meeting was in progress, and she was arrested and discharged too many times to count. The newspapers of Lancashire called her "Dauntless Dora."

On the occasion of Winston Churchill's visit to Southport during the campaign of 1900, Miss Marsden succeeded in outwitting the police in the face of the most extraordinary precautions against suffragette interruptions. A large sum had been spent on extra police protection. Yet when Mr. Churchill began to explain that the people ought to support the Government because the Govern-

ment represented the people, from high up somewhere near the ceiling floated down a thin feminine voice:

"It does not represent the women, Mr. Churchill."

Far out through a ventilator above the stage leaned the figure of Dora Marsden, small and slight, and with her thin, intense little face wan and pale from nearly twenty-four hours of fast and vigil. But her voice rose crisp and clear above the uproar, and she coolly proceeded to deliver her message until the stewards, who had at first been utterly demoralized by the interruption, found their way into her loft and dragged her forcibly from the opening. Delighted crowds in the streets saw her thrust through the broken glass of a window and set rolling down the sloping roof—from which she must certainly have fallen had she not found a slight hold in the projecting coping—and then pulled down and hustled off to jail.

During the years from 1908 to 1910, the newspaper of the militant society, *Votes for Women*, was eloquent in praise of her courage, her resourcefulness, her devotion. During 1910 she was mentioned less and less frequently, and at the beginning of 1911 she disappeared from its columns altogether.

Miss Marsden's concern is "that women shall acquire the habit of appraising their individual worth as separate 'spiritual entities,' apart from any of their relational aspects. They must learn to judge themselves as individuals and not as mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters—not even as 'world-mothers' or creators and conservators of life." She writes thus of the duties of the freewoman:



MISS DORA MARSDEN

She must produce within herself strength sufficient to provide for herself and for those of whom nature has made her the natural guardian, her children. To this end she must open up resources of wealth for herself. She must work, earn money. She must seize upon the incentives which have spurred men on to strenuous effort—wealth, power, titles and public honor. . . .

It is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so rests largely upon a tradition that will have to be worn down. In

wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, nursing, kindergarten, education, cooking, cleaning, in the industrial world and in the professions. These changes will have for their motive the accommodation of such conditions as will enable women to choose and follow a life-work, apart from, and in addition to, their natural function of reproduction.

It is not surprising that "Miss Marsden . . . fully understands how hard is her doctrine and how limited must be its appeal."

NORMAN ANGELL AND HIS GOSPEL OF PEACE

A FEW years ago there appeared a thin octavo volume of about a hundred pages entitled "Europe's Optical Illusion." The book was a study in international politics, and its author was Mr. Norman Angell, "then quite an unknown personality in the greater world of letters." The work, destined later to be regarded as epoch-making, "fell absolutely flat; it was ignored both by the press and the public alike; and now at the present moment it is being translated into seventeen languages!" Well may Mr. Robert Birkmyre, writing in the London *Bookman*, say: "Mr. Norman Angell has every reason to feel grateful to whatever gods may preside over the fates of authors for the fortunate turn of events that has placed him almost at a bound as it were in the forefront of European authors." Under its present title, "The Great Illusion," Mr. Angell's book has influenced the enlightened leaders of thought and opinion in two hemispheres. "Men like Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Winston Churchill have allowed the tenets of 'The Great Illusion' to shape their thoughts and to mold their policy; and the work has been honored by complimentary reference in the French Chamber—an unusual experience for a book."

Of Mr. Angell personally, the writer says:

The career of the author of "The Great Illusion" was not always passed in the study poring over the problems of peace and war. Indeed, to anyone who knows Mr. Angell personally, and the facts of his life, it is a matter for wonder that he could have found the time necessary to devote to the study even of his own particular subject and the strenuous work of putting his ideas into book form. For unlike so many beautiful and artificial creations in literature "The Great Illusion" was not the work of a night; it did not "arrive" by accident; the author did not dream it as the poets both great and small dream poems; he built it steadily bit by bit in his brain, as the builder builds a monument and the work took years of patient and laborious study.

Mr. Angell's volume has been subject to so much misconception and misrepresentation



NORMAN ANGELL, AUTHOR OF "THE GREAT ILLUSION"

that the *Bookman* writer deems it advisable to state what the propositions laid down by the author really are. He tells us:

The whole idea of "The Great Illusion" is simply that war is an unprofitable undertaking in the twentieth century, both to the nation and to the individual who is part of that nation owing to the delicate interdependence of trade and finance. We are blinded by traditions that have passed away; haunted by shibboleths and have never really paused to think the matter out in a clear and logical manner. Mr. Angell preaches the gospel of peace but objectively; that is to say, if he had felt that any real profit, moral or material, could arise from the art of war as it is conceived and practised at the present day there would have been no need for his book and the slow, patient

years in which he devoted himself to the problems of international warfare would have been given to more profitable things; but feeling and having expounded in "The Great Illusion" the folly and fallacy of war he advocates peace: it is the only alternative. He does not say, remember that war is impossible, which is a favorite misinterpretation; it is more than possible; it is even likely; and it is because it is so probable that "The Great Illusion" has become such an important factor on all questions touching on international policy. Mr. Angell endeavors in "The Great Illusion" to put the clock right for us; we are slow by several centuries; and while we are so advanced and have made such gigantic strides in other things in the domain of international politics we are absolutely stationary and remain rooted where we were at the beginning of history when plunder was the price of war, and the rough and ready methods of the Huns and the Vandals will not work in the twentieth century. Mankind has developed materially and morally since then (whether they know it or not) and at the present moment when the nations are more than ever bound by economic interdependence and considerations of trade; when the division of labor is a tie between State and State and man and man, war and the benefits that war is supposed to bring is an individual and national "illusion." It is not war we want, but coöperation, not strife but federation. That is the real and only possible interpretation of "The Great Illusion," if read with the usual modicum of light and understanding.

Mr. Angell, whose full name, we believe, is Ralph Norman Angell Lane, was born in 1874 in England. His life, writes Mr. Birkmyre, "belongs more to fiction than to fact."

He received most of his education in France and migrated to Western America. It was here in this last country that that large slice of adventure befell him, and where he awakened to those unique ideas on world politics that were later to stir and influence all deep-thinking men both at home and abroad.

The life of the frontiersman, which includes such a pleasant variety of occupations, as ranching, mining, "cow punching," etc., probably taught him more than all the schools; for one learns living close to nature what the man who is habituated to a humdrum city life can never learn to the full extent; those sterling qualities of resource and decision which are as necessary in an author as in a man of affairs; and Mr. Angell is both. He was always an eager student of political and abstract questions, and in his journalistic work of this period one already traces the style and methods of the present author of "The Great Illusion." We next find him in France stemming with success that seething vortex of newspaper life in Paris; and then came the great opportunity of his life when he became connected with the business direction of one of the biggest journalistic enterprises in the French capital which brought him into immediate contact with the foremost political and commercial minds of Europe and indeed celebrities of all kinds who helped and encouraged him in his great work of political reformation. Such is the brief epitome of the twenty crowded years which resulted in "The Great Illusion."

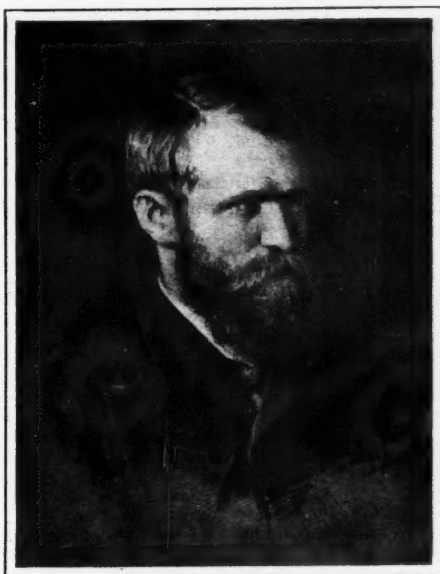
The opinion has been expressed that Mr. Angell has an excellent chance of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

THE INTERESTING PERSONALITY OF GUSTAV FRENSEN

TO be the writer of a book of which over a million copies are sold within a year of its first appearance, argues the possession of some special talent in writing or of the faculty of choosing and skilfully treating a theme which awakens emotion and pleasure in the reader. This observation applies in an eminent degree to Gustav Frenssen and his novel *Jörn Uhl*, first published in 1901. Writing of Frenssen in the *Queen's Quarterly*, Mr. E. J. Williamson, of Hobart College, describes the book as "not a story with startling incidents, but a plain homely tale," a story of toil and trouble, "far removed from the morbid pictures of life which we get in the naturalistic novel." Here "man is not represented as the soulless product of material changes and environment, but has an inner, better self which has the power to strive and assert itself against the hardest conditions of life." To those readers of the REVIEW who have not read *Jörn Uhl* in the original German the following synopsis of the

novel, condensed from Mr. Williamson's article, may be of interest:

Jörn Uhl, the youngest son of a rich Holstein farmer, is left, on the death of his mother when he is still a mere child, in charge of a faithful old maid-servant, Wieta Penn. A shy, reticent, boy he grows up with an exorbitant feeling of responsibility. Noticing how his father and older brothers fritter away their time gambling and drinking, while the old farm goes to ruin, he renounces his aspirations for study and resolves to devote his life to saving the "Uhl." From early morning to late evening he leads a life of relentless drudgery behind the plough. Sneered at by his shiftless father and brothers, he goes his own way, heedless of all else save his one chosen duty in life. Despite his sacrifices, affairs at the Uhl do not prosper. On his return from the Franco-German war he finds that his sister Elsie, a wild rollicking girl, has eloped with a worthless fellow; the farm has been shamelessly neglected; and there are heavy debts that cannot be paid. About this time his father is thrown from his carriage after a drunken carouse, and becomes a helpless invalid for life. The creditors decide to place the estate in the hands of the industrious Jörn; the brothers are paid off and turned out to shift for themselves; and finally Jörn is master of the heavily encumbered farm.



GUSTAV FRENSSEN, AUTHOR OF "JÖRN UHL"

He now settles down to a life of constant toil. Study he regards as a forbidden pleasure. Though he devotes his few leisure moments to his favorite astronomy, he keeps his books and instruments carefully concealed. Everything, however, seems to conspire against him. His young wife dies; a brother commits suicide; and a plague of mice threatens the budding crops. Finally the homestead is burned to the ground by lightning, and the weak-minded old father dies from the shock. Jörn now decides to give up the farm and start life anew. "I believe," he says, "I've been a poor unfortunate fool; but now I mean really to try and get back my soul that I've buried here in the Uhl." With his little son and the faithful Wieten he goes to live with his mother's brother, and ultimately gains success as an engineer.

What gives the novel its greatest value is "the naturalness of the persons portrayed therein and the genuinely human character of the struggle through which Jörn passes." Frenssen "has succeeded in making his figures stand out in such true and living forms that we almost forget that they are merely artistic creations."

Frenssen, who was born in 1863 in the little Frisian village of Barlt, began his literary career as a writer of stories, in 1895, and in the following year, with a serial story (*Die Landgräfin*), written for a Berlin magazine, he laid the foundation of his success as a novelist. In 1898 appeared his second novel, *Die drei Getreuen*, one feature of which was the "very human interest evidenced by the author in the social questions and conditions of the time by his treatment of the labor problem." *Jörn*

Uhl made Frenssen famous and caused him to resign his pastorate and to devote himself entirely to literature. His next novel, *Hilligenlei* (1905), became the subject of much adverse criticism. It is the story of a quest after God and Jesus; and the last part of the book consists of a life of Christ, covering more than 100 pages.

The Jesus depicted in the *Hilligenlei* is a noble, beautiful type of manhood. But he is nothing more than a man. He is simply one of those great leaders who has had a clearer vision of the Divine than his fellows, and who was therefore misunderstood by his contemporaries. . . . His miracles are represented as the natural outcome of his wonderful influence over men. . . . In the end he had to suffer and die, "for the unfathomable law of creation has decreed for man death and sorrow: progress is gained only by the sufferings of the best among mankind." His resurrection is represented as a vision which came to the disciples and followers who loved and adored him so much.

"The insertion," says Mr. Williamson, "of a religious-philosophic treatise of this sort into a novel is certainly out of place. Frenssen himself acknowledged this in a verse which he wrote for the hundred thousandth copy, issued one month after the appearance of the book."

Frenssen's last longer novel, *Klaus Hinrich Baas*, published in 1909, is a companion work to *Jörn Uhl*; but whereas Jörn Uhl was shy and humble, Klaus Hinrich Baas has inherited a haughty, ambitious spirit. . . . It is not until he reaches the age of forty-five and has almost ruined his happiness that he becomes fully conscious of the baneful effect which his insatiable passion for power and advancement is exercising on his life, and resolves to crush the serpent before it is too late."

Besides the works mentioned above, Frenssen has written a drama, *Das Heimatsfest*, and *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, a sketch dealing with the native rebellion in German Southwest Africa; also an interesting story of double personality, *Der Untergang der Anna Hollmann* (1911). Certain critics have assumed that Frenssen has been influenced by Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* (1889); and he has doubtless learned much from Wilhelm Raabe. But even where he is influenced by others, Frenssen retains his originality. "He has his own way of looking at things, and his personality stands behind all that he writes." Though he has given up his pulpit, he "is a preacher from first to last"; and whether we agree with his views of religion and life or not, we "must at least give him credit for being honest in his attempt to place faith and morality on a sound foundation."

JOSEPH PENNELL ON WHISTLER



JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER—A PEN SKETCH
BY HIMSELF

JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER and his art have been the center around which has waged one of the bitterest controversies of modern times. Decried, belittled, characterized as *poseur*, mountebank, and as "the Idle Apprentice"—this last by a president of the Royal Academy—Whistler has had one friend whose faithfulness has never failed him and who is determined, now that the artist is no longer able to defend himself in the flesh, that his memory shall not suffer for lack of a champion. This friend is Joseph Pennell, who, as is well known, is joint author with his talented wife, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, of the authorized life of Whistler. Concerning this biography Mr. Pennell writes in the *Bookman* (London) as follows:

To have believed in him [Whistler] always was our good fortune; and it was an opportunity which has come to no one since Boswell to be asked to write such a man's life, to be asked by him to write the life of the greatest artist of modern times, and our greatest friend. We have written as strongly as we could and we have nothing to take back—we have told the truth as we know it, and we stand by it. We shall never again see a man in whom we can believe with all our might and with all our hearts and with all our souls. We know that Whistler was the greatest artist of modern times, and the most interesting man of our time. We have made the world see this, and we have hastened his coming into his own. But

without us or any writers, by his work alone he would have been acknowledged the great man he is. We have had the chance to show it—the chance of our lives—and we are proud of it. We have done the best we could.

Mr. Pennell entitles his article in the *Bookman* "The Triumph of Whistler"; and, as might naturally be expected, the text fully justifies the caption. Thus we read:

His [Whistler's] eminence among artists is now assured, as almost all his most important canvases have been secured by the most important galleries of the world. . . . In portraiture, in his nocturnes and marines, he is the modern master. In etching he is the supreme artist of all time, and his supremacy is universally acknowledged. His pastels and water colors and lithographs are among the triumphs of the art of our day. His works thus cover nearly every phase of the graphic arts. . . . In literature—for he was no mere painter—"The Ten O'Clock" and "The Gentle Art" are classics that, founded on the rock of tradition, will endure for ever. By his personality and his wit he will live with Dr. Johnson and Cellini. But this is not all. His theories are accepted by those who never knew he propounded them. . . . His sayings—and the things he never could have said—are the stock-in-trade of the journalist as well as the author, now that they have ceased reviling him. . . . His pictures, which for years he could not sell, are found in reproductions in every home and on the popular postcard. His etchings and lithographs are the base of every collection—and their possession the ambition of every collector.

Although only nine years have elapsed since Whistler's death, nearly a score of complete books about him have been published. One of these, "With Whistler in Venice," by Otto Bacher, contained some "most extraordinary letters" of the artist; and "Miss Philip, Whistler's executrix, having eventually seen them, suppressed the volume." The non-publication of Whistler's letters is thus explained by Mr. Pennell:

When Miss Philip brought suit against us, and endeavoured to get out an injunction to prevent our issuing the "Authorized Life," and failed, she swore that Whistler asked her to edit his letters, and that she was to take her time about it—that at any rate she has done—but even to this day there are large collections she has never taken the trouble to look at. . . . I have no idea what material she has, but I know much that she has not, and without several collections which she has never seen she cannot do the work properly. Yet others are—by the law of copyright and her enforcing of it—prevented from doing that which they are only too ready and willing to do, and cannot, and she will not. A properly edited collection of Whistler's letters would be one of the most remarkable books of modern times.

Mr. Pennell defends himself from the charge that has often been made against him,

of praising everything by Whistler. He writes:

Over and over I have condemned things both in the man and his work I did not like—because I did not believe in the way he was painting or acting. But I did it to his face, never behind his back; and this is possibly one reason why I never had a quarrel with him, though we had endless fights. . . . At any rate, I tried to be true to the man and to fight with and for him—in exhibitions—in life—in the press—and I mean to be true to his memory. . . . A man more devoted to the highest perfection he could attain never lived. To achieve this, he took incredible and endless pains; and he was a genius, whether taking pains makes one or no.

The world of art having "acknowledged Whistler's greatness by three memorial exhibitions—a tribute no other modern has received—in America, France, and England," it is interesting to read, "in this day

of best sellers and biggest prices," of the surprisingly small sums actually received by Whistler during his lifetime for his etchings and lithographs.

Whistler's "Douze Eaux Fortes" was sold by him for two guineas (or fifty francs) a set of twelve, thirteen with the cover. The sixteen Thames etchings for twelve guineas. The Venice etchings, first set of twelve, sold for fifty guineas, about four each—and it was years before the Fine Art Society got rid of them, and they never issued another set for him. . . . The second Venice set contained twenty-six proofs, and he could only get for these twenty-six fifty guineas. . . . He never could get anyone to publish a set for him after this. . . . For single etchings, proofs, he got from two guineas to fifteen at the end; for his lithographs, until his death, from two to five guineas.

Whistler "never worked for anything but his art. He believed in that, and knew it would be appreciated—as it is."

THE POETRY OF MODERN AMERICA

THERE have been a number of articles of late in the magazines expressing the hope, if not the belief, that modern America is coming into her own at last so far as a national literature is concerned. The announcement of the new American magazine *Poetry*, established expressly for the encouragement of the art, and having "pledged subscriptions amounting to five thousand dollars annually for five years," would seem to indicate that poetry flourishes in the United States. A somewhat different impression is however received from the opening paragraph of an article by the editor of the new periodical just mentioned, Miss Harriet Monroe, appearing in the *Poetry Review*, which reads:

In the United States to-day the poet is rarely able to devote his best energies to his art because, unlike his fellow artists in painting, sculpture and architecture, he cannot make it yield him even a bread-and-water living. In addition to this disadvantage, which he shares with most of his European confrères, he suffers from the decentralization of literary taste and authority. His world is not a coterie in a capital, with an entrenched group of critics whose judgment, right or wrong, arouses comment; but a few inaccessible readers scattered over a wide area, and served by journalists who usually misconceive or ignore poetry altogether. Moreover his public is still sufficiently colonial in taste to distrust its own opinion and listen too eagerly for the verdict of London or Paris.

Thus the poet of serious purpose detects a response so slight, or of such foggy vagueness, that his voice may be gradually muffled. Even a hero cannot lead to victory without an army behind

him, and the most heroic artistic vocation is powerless against public apathy. Yet the apathy is more apparent than real. The people are intensely imaginative, with deep dreams calling for a truly interpretative modern poet. Public sympathy is not dead, but remote and scattered and unaware. An organized effort to unite and inform it may be the one thing most needful; perhaps this will be one of the century's important achievements.

Miss Monroe considers that "the people are eagerly responsive to familiar and humorous verse." Since Lowell with the "Biglow Papers" and Bret Harte with "The Heathen Chinee," we have heard James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field "singing for the average farmer or town-dweller of the Middle West, Drummond for the French-Canadian habitant, Paul Lawrence Dunbar for the Southern negro, Joaquin Miller for the Far-Western rover, and many lesser rhymes for their special neighbors."

Mr. Riley, the most eminent of these poets now living, begins with a rare intuition of the feelings of little common country children, expressed in such lilting child poems as "Little Orphant Annie" and "The Raggedy Man;" and continues through a wide range of grown-up human sentiment to such ecstatic lyrics as the joyous "Knee-deep in June" and the sad "Bereaved." Eugene Field should live with "Little Boy Blue" and "Wynken, Blynken and Nod," and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, passing too soon, left as his supreme achievement not a plantation melody, beautiful as some of these are, but one of the finest death songs of the language.

The late William Vaughan Moody was "the most nobly impassioned and technic-

ally proficient of our poets; the one who most completely fused serious devotion to his art, and a philosophic sense of life with a poet's vision and skill," while of his three friends Percy Mackaye "prefers the dramatic form," Ridgely Torrence "in casual poems of personal feeling and episode strikes whimsically an instrument of delicate music," and Edwin Arlington Robinson has a "style of a tense and stern simplicity, capable at times of austere dignity and beauty." Robinson's "The Master" is "a simple and noble expression of the average citizen's love, at once intimate and reverent, of Lincoln." Edwin Markham is "another poet who is moved by Lincoln and thrilled by modern issues." His "Man with the Hoe" is "worthy of Millet's picture which inspired it, a powerful presentation of the eternal tragedy of labor." Bliss Carman is "cursed by facility, but has moments of high emotional joy and true lyric harmony."

Of singers of "the gentler sex," if one may use this term now-a-days, Miss Monroe cites by name Emily Dickinson, "shy and intensely lyrical," Marguerite Wilkinson, "an obscure new little prairie poet," and Mrs.

Josephine Peabody Marks, "an authentic woman voice singing with intense intimacy and a new variety in her 'Canticle of the Babe.'" Then there are scores of other women grouped together because one wins from them all "a sense that the woman-spirit is getting effectually into modern literature."

In the van of the younger crowd of men are Ezra Pound and John C. Neihardt, and from this crowd "one hears a number of virile voices big and free and inspired by a modern democratic vision of life," like Arthur Daison Ficke and James Oppenheim. Others "sound the democratic note—protestingly, pleadingly, triumphantly, in divers keys; voices like Charles E. Russell, Constant Lounsbury, C. H. Towne, Silvester Viereck, New York's luxurious pessimist, and George Sterling."

Miss Monroe closes her paper in more hopeful vein than that adopted at its beginning. "Now and then," she says, "the beauty of some casual poem, in a passing magazine or new thin book, moves one to wonder whether the poetic Renaissance, if not yet here, may not be close on the way."

ONTARIO—AN OBJECT LESSON IN DEVELOPMENT

PROGRESS, as a characteristic of Canadian provinces, has come to be regarded as a natural order of things. In addition, however, to the evidence of development along what may be termed ordinary lines, Ontario is able to show achievements of a special kind which fully justify the designation "Progressive Ontario," applied to it by Mr. J. C. Boylen in the *Canadian Magazine*. For instance, the province has demonstrated that a government-owned railway can be made to pay.

The administration and operation of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway is a triumph for public ownership and a tribute to the railroad ability, business acumen and public spirit of Mr. J. L. Englehart, the Chairman of the Commission operating the railway for the Government. The success of the operation of this railway is no small achievement when it is remembered that it received no assistance whatever in the way of a Dominion subsidy, such as other railways have received. In 1906 the earnings over expenses were \$181,525 while in 1910 the earnings over expenses were \$426,490. The line has a strategic position in connection with the transcontinental lines, running as it does north and south. To take full advantage of this position much of the older por-

tion of the railway has been rebuilt. The Grand Trunk system has secured running rights over this line which connects its Ontario system at North Bay with its transcontinental artery at Cochrane. For these rights the Grand Trunk Railway is to pay a rental of \$300,000 a year and a percentage of the maintenance charges of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway.

Further, the day of the perpetual franchise in Ontario is over. Since 1906 no railway has been allowed a franchise extending beyond twenty-five years, and a "Railway and Municipal Board" has been established, so that the public know just where to look for a settlement of all grievances arising from the operation of railways under provincial jurisdiction.

Another and a unique achievement by the province is the inauguration of a transmission system for the distribution of electricity generated by the waterfalls of the province to provide a supply for municipalities and other users of power at cost. This work, says Mr. Boylen, is "a monument to the unselfish labors of the Honorable Adam Beck and is a triumph of engineering. To date it is the last word in the distribution of electricity."

The Hydro-Electric enterprise, comprising a high-tension system at present extending over three hundred miles with over three thousand steel towers carrying over twelve hundred miles of cable and its scheme of plain but wonderful transformer stations, was carried through for a sum within the estimate, something new in the construction of a public work. Opposition to the project on the part of the private interests antagonistic to it was so determined that even the very right of the Legislative Assembly to enact the legislation authorizing it was attacked. Ontario's answer to that application was one so unanswerable that the legislation was undisturbed. As an assertion of the rights of provinces to legislate on matters within their own jurisdiction Ontario's answer on that occasion is a state document of prime importance. So thoroughly does it deal with the matter that the likelihood of such a question being raised again is remote. Now some of the benefits of the Whitney-Beck cheap power policy are being felt. Ontario's predominance as a manufacturing province is assured.

The farmer is being shown that what is done for the city dweller can be done for the agriculturists also. Demonstrations are given of "the threshing of grain by a separator driven by a portable motor installed at the barn door and supplied with power by a cable hooked onto the transmission line at the roadside."

In the science of penology the province has made a new departure. In Ontario, the line, "Stone walls do not a prison make," may be read literally.

The Honorable W. J. Hanna has inaugurated a new era in the work of treating the criminal. Instead of being guarded behind walls and made an unwilling competitor with free labor, he is put on his honor and sent out into the fields of the new prison farm near Guelph by the Provincial Secretary. The unfortunate whose liberty the law has demanded is no longer caged and confined in the manner that the term convict has long expressed. He is put out in the open and there are no striped clothes to make him feel that he is an outcast. He goes to his rest like a human being and is not herded into a cage like a wild beast by guards who cover the corridors with rifles. Humane as the old Central Prison was thought to be with its patch of garden, its broom factory and woodenware shops, it is a relic of barbarism compared to the central corrective institution of the Province to-day and its companion institution at Port Arthur. Instead of the congested old Central Prison being a reformatory it is too often a confirmatory. Its disappearance to make room for industrial progress will be the removal of a landmark that many unfortunates will show no haste to remember.

The offender has cause to take hope when he is taken to the prison farm to serve his term. It lies with him whether he will serve the full length of that term, for in connection with the institution is the Parole Board, which rewards good conduct and obedience with shortened terms. The liberated man goes out to the world with no prison pallor on his face and with spirit unbroken. Neither does he go penniless. His term of toil brings pecuniary reward which enables him to return to employ-

ment dependent on no one, with a new attitude toward the future.

Population is what counts; and the authorities are energetically tackling the problem, how to develop the territory and at the same time support the increasing number of inhabitants. The Ontario boy is not told to "Go West!" The slogan that rings in his ears is, "Stay in Ontario!" The Ontario Agricultural College shows the boy how he can become a successful farmer, and the farmer how he can get the best out of his land; and the College is affiliated with Toronto University, which is not only a seat of learning but a research center as well. A Market Commissioner, with headquarters at Winnipeg, keeps the Ontario fruit farmer posted on the condition of the prairie market; and within the past few years Ontario peaches have been introduced by the London office of the Ontario Government to the marketers of Covent Garden.

"Maritime Ontario with ports on tide-water," is the great scheme to which the Government's efforts are now more particularly directed. The upper portion of the Province is about the size of a European empire; and to develop and populate this virgin country Sir James Whitney and his colleagues are pledging Ontario's credit for \$5,000,000. The province has at least one good harbor on James Bay, and the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway is within 175 miles of it. Surveys for the necessary extension are being made at the present time.

These are a few of the extraordinary things that are being done in "Progressive Ontario." Of ordinary developments the following summary, which is given by the writer of this article, speaks for itself:

From a revenue of \$6,128,358 in 1904 to one of \$9,370,833 for the latest fiscal year indicates that Ontario has increased in material wealth. In seven years her field crops have increased in value by over forty million, eight hundred thousand dollars and the lands which produced them have increased in value by a like sum. Ontario's field crops to-day represent over one hundred and seventy-five millions in cash and the fields in which they grow by over six hundred and eighty millions. Live stock on farms to-day is worth twenty-five millions. The total permanent assets of the agricultural industry exceed one billion three hundred millions—an increase in seven years of nearly one hundred and fifteen millions.

With the discovery of Cobalt and the finding of Porcupine the mining industry in the Province has bounded from an output valued at \$11,572,647 in 1904, to one valued at \$41,976,797 in 1911. Ontario is first in nickel and third in silver among the mineral countries of the world.

TURKISH OPINION ON THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

JUST before the beginning of hostilities in the Balkans the Turkish press, with characteristic Oriental calm and cynicism, discussed the probable outcome of impending battles, the attitude of the European powers toward each other, and the intrigues and games of the group to which they belong.

As to the responsibility of the "bloodiest" war of modern history, all the journals, without hesitation,—and in this the Turkish press fully agrees with the publications of the Balkan allies,—attribute it to the greed, ambition and intrigues of the European powers. Thus the *Jeune Turc* before the war, said:

On whom will fall the moral responsibility of the blood which will flow?—nobody can hesitate to answer. They are the great powers, who, by their stupidity and indecision, have brought matters to this fatal end. Who will believe to-day that if they earnestly agreed to stop the war, they could not have done so? To-day even their language is full of duplicity, their behavior enigmatic, Read, for instance, what Sir Edward Greysays. This representative of a country which could do much toward peace, speaks a language which an oracle of Delphos alone could understand. He gives, at the same time, no right to us and to our enemies; he simply excites one another to war . . . and yet our government even in the face of threats, offered to do everything in the way of reforms . . . But it was evident that these were not wanted; they simply attack our honor and integrity, and if the blood overflows, the responsibility will fall on those who have provoked and encouraged this awful drama.

The *Djenine*, heir to the famous Young Turkish organ *Tanine* (*Echo*) which had been suspended by the government for its attacks, under the signature of Babanzade Ismail Hakki Bey, one of the foremost writers and a Young Turkish leader, says:

It is impossible not to see behind the stage-curtain the incendiaries of the present war, which will ruin the Balkans, and whose sparks will possibly inflame Europe. True that in appearance Europe has tried to make peace, but too late. . . . No doubt that twenty days ago this war could have been avoided by effective action on the part of the Balkan States, who laughed at Europe. . . . During recent years events followed each other fast. Russia stilled, in the north of Persia, her anger provoked by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. England acted likewise in Southern Persia. France took Morocco and Germany the Congo. Italy, who had remained outside the feast, threw herself on her prey; now the same desire has taken hold of the small hunters of the Balkans. Europe should not escape the moral and material

punishment which weighs on the conscience, as a result of this example of immorality which she has given. That punishment could not be anything else than the general war, whose name every quivering lip begins to pronounce.

Taking up the European entanglements and the antagonism between Persia and Austria-Hungary, under the title "Expiation," the *Jeune Turc* says:

Never believe the sincerity of their lamentations about their inability to maintain peace. They lack not power, but will. Austria has declared, through her Foreign Minister, that "under no circumstances" would she remain inactive before the development of events in the Balkans, where she has "most vital interests." Russia has officially and unofficially said something to the same effect. . . . Will not both fear the "surprises" of a European Conference? Will not both think it better to come to the conference table, armed with *faits accomplis*, the best argument for right? Decidedly the great powers have not figured right. What they prepared for the small ones, will certainly catch them too; they will be caught in the wheel; the tragic hour and the expiation will soon come for them. The center of the general fire is "Panslavist Russia." If the war inflames Europe, this will be due to clerical and panslavist Russia. . . . She threatens in her anger, not only her old enemy Turkey, but Austria. and her press assaults most savagely her ally France and her friend England for not being more decisively ready to take up arms for the Balkan States. Russian Panslavism, which worked up the present war, is preparing Russia to intervene in their behalf. Will it succeed in these despairing efforts? Will France and England be caught in this intrigue? We admit that we ignore it. But we know that Russian Panslavism is the center of a general conflagration for poor Europe.

The same journal and most of the other prominent papers continue to discuss the "pros and cons" of a European war, and the various reasons and interests of the powers and the groups to which they belong. They conclude that the struggle between Slav and Teuton will have to come, violently attack France and England for siding with Russia against their own interests, as Moslem powers, and state that the only way to avoid a general war would be the ultimate success of Turkish arms and a strong Turkey, concluding with these words of the *Neue Freie Presse*, of Vienna:

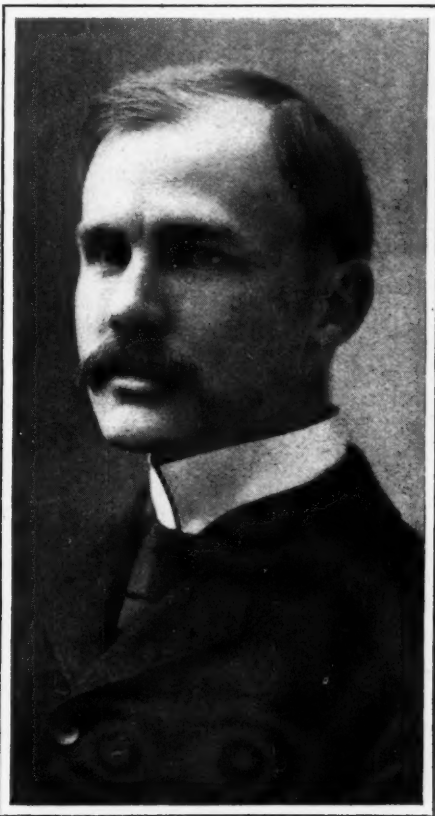
Turkey does not fight for herself alone, she fights for all of Europe too. Every success of hers brings us nearer to general peace, and nothing would be so deplorable as her military destruction.

THE AMERICAN MIND

MR. BLISS PERRY has published his series of lectures on "American Traits in American Literature," availing himself of the Jeffersonian phrase for a title, namely, "The American Mind."¹ He begins his theorizing with the scepticism of Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard, as to our being able to arrive at a definite analysis of ourselves as Americans. "A race psychology," he declares, "is still a science for the future to discover. We do not scientifically know what the true racial varieties of a mental type really are. No doubt there are such varieties. The judgment day or the science of the future may demonstrate what they really are. We are at present very ignorant regarding the whole matter."

Just what may be adjudged truly American must be our primary consideration. Have we anything in our mental and physical characteristics that is not a copy of some foreign original? Is there any voice raised from Maine to the Golden Gate that is not an echo of the murmurs of some older and mayhap wiser civilization? The word "American" has less precise connotation than the word "New Zealander," according to Mr. Perry. Racial questions are complicated; the blending of foreign blood and our own sectional differences are to be considered, likewise our rampant individualism and unevenness of culture. Which is typically American—Lincoln reading Voltaire or Mr. Jones reading "Mr. Potter of Texas?" To identify the American and truly differentiate him from his fellow men, Mr. Perry sends us far afield—to the Continent to observe that unmistakable type, the "American traveling abroad." As Mr. Perry sees him, he is obviously well-to-do, kindly, considerate, patient, genial; he uses his eyes well on general objects, but his lack of historical training limits his curiosity. He is critical of foreign ways from lack of acquaintance with them; he is intellectually modest and self-distrustful and he invariably tells you "just how many days he is away from God's Country."

The charge against us from the European critic is that there are "certain grave defects in the American mind, defects which if you had not had, as Thomas Carlyle said, 'a great deal of land for a very few people,' would long ago have involved you in disaster. You admit the mental defects, but you promptly shift the question to one of moral qualities, of practical energy, of subduing the wilderness, and so forth. You have too often absented yourself from the wedding banquet, from the European symposium of wit and philosophy, from the polished and orderly and delightful play and interplay of the civilized mind,—and your excuse is the old one: that you were trying your yoke of oxen and cannot come. We charge you with intellectual sins, and you enter a plea of moral preoccupation. If you will permit personal examples, you Americans have made ere now your national heroes out of men whose reasoning powers remained those of a college sophomore, who were unable to state an opponent's position with fairness, who lacked wholly the judicial quality, who were vainglorious and extravagant, who had, in short, the mind of an



BLISS PERRY, WHO HAS ANALYZED THE AMERICAN MIND

exuberant barbarian; but you instantly forget their intellectual defects in the presence of their abounding physical and moral energy, their freedom from any taint of corruption, their whole-souled desire and effort for the public good. Were not such heroes, impossible as they would have been in any other civilized country, perfectly luminative of your national state of mind?"

Mr. Perry suspects that the European critic is right, but he reminds him that we are somewhat excused by the fact that "here in America everything was to do" and goes on to say that "No one can understand America with his brains. It is too big, too puzzling; it is an onward movement; it is optimism and ideality and fellowship and faith."

We have conservatism in our blood and radicalism in our brains, hence we are a cross breed and must be a law unto ourselves. Carlyle's theory he thinks outworn, Whitman's premature. We must look to the Middle-West mind of America, to the individualism, the literature and the art produced in the great Mississippi valley, for the expression

¹The American Mind. By Bliss Perry. Houghton Mifflin Co. 249 pages. \$1.25 net.

of the true American mind. Chicago is more alive to actual American needs than New York or Boston.

Mr. Perry continues: "There is a period, no doubt, when the individual must painfully question himself, test his powers, and acquire the sense of his own place in the world. But there also comes a more mature period when he takes that place unconsciously, does his work almost without thinking of it as if it were not his work at all. The brain has gone down into the spinal cord; the man is functioning as a part of the organism of society; he has ceased to question, to plan, to decide; it

is instinct that does his work for him. A nation passes out of its adolescent preoccupation with plans and materials. It learns to work precisely as Goethe bade the artist do his task, without talking about it. We too shall outgrow in time our questioning, our self-analysis, our futile comparison of ourselves with other nations, our self-conscious study of our own national character. We shall not forget the distinction between 'each' and 'all' but 'all' will be increasingly placed at the service of 'each.' With fellowship based on individualism and individualism based on fellowship, America will perform its vital tasks."

NEW POEMS AND PLAYS

MR. P. P. HOWE has written a critical study of John M. Synge. If ever there lived a man who could have swept the strings of Tara's harp after

The Bard of
Modern Ireland

Tom Moore's hand was stilled, that man was Synge. He was a kind of a "Pied Piper" and although he has gone from us and the "door in the mountain is shut," we are still hurrying out of our literary burrows and tumbling over one another to follow on to his enchanted country. So new and strange is the music of his words that it has turned the heads of the critics and they are hastily acclaiming him as a peer of Marlowe or even as the greatest dramatist in English tongue since Shakespeare. Mr. Howe errs in the matter of over-estimation. Synge is a dramatic genius—perhaps not a great one or even to be compared in the same breath with Marlowe, still a cunning artificer of plays. But it is not as a dramatist that Synge is great. He is more than a maker of plays; he is a bard. His plays sing like the harps of Ireland. The rhythms he worked into his prose set the mind delirious and send it swinging into space a "blossomy twist" upon the pendulum of the emotions.

Synge's works have been gathered together and published in a complete edition of four volumes. Slender as they are—they contain only six short plays, a few poems, and his sketch books of Kerry, Wicklow, and the Arran Islands—they make his fame secure. He has not mixed poetry and metaphysics, as Yeats has done, neither has he resurrected the Ireland of a thousand years ago, as Lady Gregory in her "Gods and Fighting Men." He has given us the simple facts of the lives of the humble folk of the west of Ireland and through the workings of their minds has led us to secret places. There is no more perfect drama structurally than Synge's "Riders to the Sea," nor is there a more perfect lyric in the soft Irish-English tongue. It carries the sound of the sea beating on the rocks, the lashing of the waves on the desolate shores; it lays bare the bottom of the sea on Judgment Day when the sea gives up its dead; it keens the hopelessness of human sorrow beneath the wings of the Angel of the Resurrection.

"The Shadow of the Glen" and "The Tinker's Wedding" fared better with the public on both sides the water than "The Playboy." This play, greeted by cat-calls and hisses and missiles and judged to be an insult to every man with Irish blood in his veins, is after all nothing but an inoffensive satire of the psychology of the common

mind that casts a halo of glory over an audacious criminal whose crime is veiled in mystery. Irishmen are not the only victims.

Synge's last play, "The Sorrow of Deirdre," while inferior to the others structurally and more often than any of the plays lacking in that consummate music of words that is the glory of Synge's genius, is still by far the greatest in its conception of the eternal progression of life. It is a Celtic version of the philosophy of Maeterlinck with a touch of the pagan spirit of Pater. "There is no place to stay always," Deirdre tells us (Deirdre of the Sorrows, who flees from King Conchubar with the fair Naisi and his brothers the Sons of Usna and abides in the greenwood seven years until the blight of weariness falls upon their love). The tragedy of the brevity of mortal existence is voiced in a single sentence: "'Tis the sorrow of the wise that but for a short time we have the same things only."

John Masefield writes of Synge: "Synge gave me from the first the impression of a strange personality. He was of the dark type of Irishman though not black-haired. Something in his air gave one the fancy that his face was dark from gravity. Gravity filled the face and haunted it as though the man behind were forever listening to life's case before passing judgment. The hair was worn neither short nor long. The mustache was rather thick and heavy. The lower jaw otherwise clean-shaven was made remarkable by a tuft of hair too small to be called a goatee upon the lower lip. The head was of good size. There was nothing niggardly, nothing abundant about it. The face was pale, the cheeks were rather drawn. In my memory they were rather seamed and old looking. The eyes were at once smoky and kindling. The mouth not well seen below, the mustache had a great play of humor in it. But for his humorous mouth, the kindling in his eyes and something not robust about his build, he would have been more like a Scotchman than an Irishman.

"When someone spoke to him he answered with grave Irish courtesy. He offered nothing of his own. When the talk was general he was silent. Sometimes I heard his deep, grave voice assenting 'ye-es, ye-es,' with meditative boredom. His manner was that of a man too much interested in the life about him to wish to be more than a spectator. His interest was in life, not in ideals."

There is no doubt that Yeats influenced Synge just as he has influenced Masfield and many others. Yeats has the angelic gift of believing in

**Irish Plays of
To-Day**

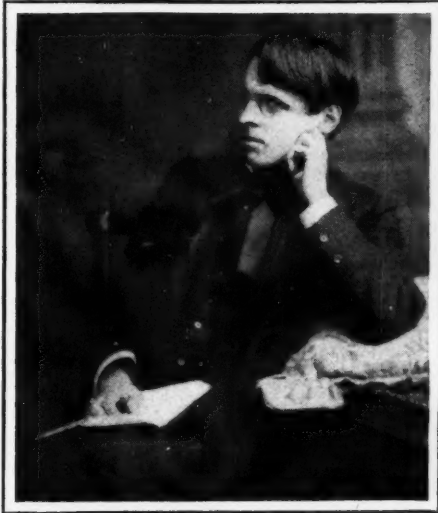
candles hidden under a bushel, in genius that is obscure and which nobody save a few specialists believes in. He is a great poetic personality who does not grudge his earnest encouragement and sympathy to younger writers. We have this month the second volume of his plays¹ enlarged and revised. They include "The Countess Cathleen," "The Land of Heart's Desire," "Shadowy Waters," "On Baile's Strand," "The King's Threshold," and "Deirdre," all of which are included in the repertory of the Abbey Theater in Dublin. There is more solid food in Yeats than in Synge. We cannot come very close to Synge; he passes above us like a restless spirit of the air. Yeats is not a master of the music of words—perhaps for the reason that his mind is forever wandering off into the realm of metaphysical speculation. "We are here" was Synge's cry: "We shall not be here always," answers Yeats. The "ever-living" to whom past, present, and future are as naught, pass like gray shadows through his dramas. In "The Shadowy Waters" he has poured himself—all his dreams and metaphysical speculations. Forgael, the master of the ship, steers his course by the flight of the man-headed birds to shadowy, unknown waters whence he shall not return. Decora, the pale queen with hair of "dull red and a copper crown," sails with him to the land of the "ever-living." Forgael explains his quest:

"For it is love that I am seeking
But of a beautiful, unheard-of kind
That is not in this world.

What the world's million lips are seeking,
Must be substantial somewhere."

Richard Middleton, the young English poet who recently committed suicide in Brussels at the age of twenty-nine, left a "giant's robe" behind him. He was unknown, an obscure journalist who died because he could not compass in objective life the greatness that lay within him. Just as the world was beginning to find him out, his courage failed and his voice that had been ever the servant of beauty, passed into silence. His writings have been collected and published in London by T. Fisher Unwin.² They will be brought out next month in this country by Mitchell Kennerley under the titles: "The Ghost Ship and other Stories" and "Poems and Songs."

Mr. Henry Savage, who has written the preface for the "Poems," gives a pen picture of Middleton: "He was of striking appearance. His unfashionable, thick beard, his massive, lined forehead and fine eyes compelled attention, but to me he is chiefly memorable for a certain air of dignity and self-respect." Of his genius he writes: "I am not using words idly when I say that it is of that rare quality that will sooner or later ensure him a recognized position, in the front rank of English poets." Middleton was a pagan of pagans—a youthful Francis Thompson without the leaven of Thompson's saving mysticism. Pleasures palled, the mirror of life became tarnished, and death snatched him away. Yet toward the end he felt that he was



W. B. YEATS, THE IRISH POET AND DRAMATIST

passing into a larger life. "I grow a little warmer," he writes from Brussels. "I feel drawn toward children and young people who are kindly and not too clever. They give me a glimpse of the life that I have missed in my passionate search for enjoyment."

It is difficult by means of a few selections to convey the beauty of Richard Middleton's poesy. His songs are for the most part to love and for lovers. He belonged to the race of dreamers, and his the dream that had no end. These verses are illustrative of the poet's style:

UNDER THE WHIP

It may well be that death is God's last boon
For with the hours life's tapestry is blurred
To strange unshapen nothings; I have heard
Eve in the twilight singing to the moon
The passionate song that has no human tune,
And some fierce echo in my bosom stirred,
Greeting the cry, as an imprisoned bird
The piping of the day. O Death be soon!

For there is nothing left in life but this,
And to this scarlet shrine is beauty fled
Since Paradise grew earth and men were wise;
But who can breathe beneath your final kiss,
Love, and who would not rather be well dead
Than feed the torment in your laughing eyes?"

TO H. S.

Love is life's enemy for we who hold
Within our dreams our passionate carouse,
Count not dawn's silver or the sunset's gold,
Winning dim jewels for our vision-house.
When all the noontide blossoms lose their scent
And all life's flowers droop their faded heads
We gather roses from celestial beds
And lilies from the starry firmament.

And being born of dreams they shall not die,
For though the dreamers perish, these shall wake
Earth, with their fragrant immortality,
And on the hills their lovely buds shall break;

¹Plays. By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan Company. 533 pp. \$2.
²Poems. By Richard Middleton. Mitchell Kennerley.
44 pp. \$1.50.

While of our dreams new lover's dreams shall be,
And in our night time they shall find their rest,
Watching the sun pass down into the west
Stained by the wine of our old ecstasy.

We saw the new-made stars dance forth above,
And we shall see them flicker out and die,
We are but moments in the tide of love,
Yet we are one with love's eternity.
And when the Immortal wearies of His moods
And is no more, our song shall capture still
The place of timeless silences, and fill
With grateful rapture the cold solitudes.



ARNOLD BENNETT, THE ENGLISH PLAYWRIGHT

In "Romance, Vision, and Satire,"¹ Miss Jessie L. Weston has newly rendered the great English alliterative poems of the fourteenth century in their original meters. The poems of the 14th Century in translation are "Sir Gwain and the Green Knight," "The Adventure of Arthur at the Tarn Wadeling," "Morte Arthure," "Cleanness," "Patience," "Pearl," and "The Vision of Piers Plowman." It is a pity these splendid relics of early English poetry are not more widely read. "The Vision of Piers Plowman" is as modern (save for its medieval phraseology) as the daily newspapers. It deals with the identical problems of the classes and the masses that trouble us to-day. Miss Weston deserves praise for her skill in handling the translations. The book will be used by Professor Schofield in his classes in comparative literature at Harvard University.

"The Yale Book of American Verse"² is a delight to the eye as an example of fine bookmaking. The contents are printed on smooth, heavy paper, the type is clear, and the poems are appropriately placed within wide margins. The binding is of Yale blue with gold decorations. This anthology in-

American
Classics

¹Romance, Vision, and Satire. By Jessie L. Weston. Houghton Mifflin, 337 pages. \$1.25 net.

²The Yale Book of American Verse. Yale University Press. 569 pp. \$2.25 net.

cludes the best of our American classics—those authors who "have added to their other distinctions the all-essential one of being dead." It was prepared and edited by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury, whose taste is to be highly commended, likewise his admirable and discriminating preface, which is all that a preface should be.

Arnold Bennett offers two plays,—"The Honeymoon"³ and "Milestones."⁴ The first is after the manner of "Polite Farces,"—a fluffy trifle of a parlor play that hangs its movement on the question as to whether any business in the world is important enough to interfere with a man's honeymoon. The question is decided in the negative.

"Milestones," on which Edward Knoblauch collaborated with Bennett, is a kind of moving-picture-show play that begins with the first milestone, Act I, in 1860 and continues to the second milestone, Act II, in 1885, and ends at the third milestone, Act III, in 1912. The same characters figure throughout,—first as hot-headed rebels against the existing order of things, later on as stubborn conservatives who in their turn are challenged and opposed by the rising generation. It is neither a satire nor a comedy, just a bit of carefully worked out realism. "Milestones" reads much better than it plays. The action is slow; the conversation drags; the characters move like marionettes. It might easily be strengthened as an acting play without marring its realism. The play serves a good purpose as a corrective against the tendency of the visionaries and emancipators of to-day to become the tyrants of to-morrow.

"Rutherford & Son,"⁵ a play in three acts by Githa Sowerby, is a grim piece of realism—a study of a man with an iron will whose overpowering personality ruined the lives of those who were bound to him by the ties of family affection.

It explains the domestic revolt that amounts to a disease in our own day and analyzes the cause with an unsparing hand. It is a dramatic version of the old knowledge, that a business or an institution may mean more than life itself to a man, whereas to a woman the affections must ever turn the balance in the scale of values.

It is rather startling to find the poetical works of George Meredith,⁶ now issued by the Scribners in complete and authoritative form, constituting a bulky volume of more than 600 pages. For a study of Meredith's spirit, there can be no better material found. And at the same time the reader will, among much-tortured language and over-subtle thought, meet with almost inexhaustible stores of beauty as well as wisdom. Meredith the poet is harder to read than Meredith the novelist, but as a poet he is hardly less worth while than as a novelist.

³Milestones. By Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblauch. George H. Doran Co. 122 pp. \$1.

⁴The Honeymoon. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Co. 111 pp. \$1.

⁵Rutherford & Son. By Githa Sowerby. G. H. Doran. 123 pages. \$1.00 net.

⁶The Poetical Works of George Meredith. With some notes by G. M. Trevelyan. Chas. Scribner's Sons. XVI-623 pp. \$2.

TRAVELERS' IMPRESSIONS

THE approaching completion of the Panama Canal is stimulating American interest in the lands surrounding the Caribbean, and during the

Caribbean
Lands

past few months there has been a marked increase in the number of published works devoted to that part of the world. In the years immediately following the Spanish American War many books about the West Indies came from the press, and it is probably true that during the past fifteen years more travelers have visited those lands than in their entire history prior to that time. One of the American correspondents who won marked distinction during the war was Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who has since made repeated visits to the various islands of the group and has become well acquainted with the history, traditions, and institutional life of the peoples who inhabit them. His latest and most comprehensive work, "The American Mediterranean,"¹ deals with the political and commercial relations of the islands and the possibility of developing American commerce with them. Mr. Bonsal's graphic literary style makes his book readable throughout, although more than one of its chapters has to do with topics that under the hand of a less skillful writer might prove dry and barren. Mr. Bonsal's treatment of these subjects is encyclopedic in its range and anything but encyclopedic in manner and method.

The political overturn in Mexico, our neighbor to the South, seems a fit occasion for a new survey of the country from the American viewpoint. This has been undertaken in "A Mexican Journey," by E. H. Blichfeldt.² This work also, like Mr. Bonsal's, is more than a mere record of travel. It is a study of the government and social customs of the Mexicans, although the author claims no credit for original research. The opinions and sentiments regarding the Mexican people which the author expresses are the outgrowth of sympathetic contact and correspondence with individual Mexicans for several years. The descriptive passages of the work are fruitful in suggestions for American travelers.

So few are the Americans who venture into South America for extended journeys that Mr. Caspar Whitney, who, during the past ten years, has made five separate overland and river expeditions into the southern continent of our hemisphere, deserves special distinction. These expeditions were largely by canoe and chiefly on streams more or less connected—which gives significance to the title chosen by Mr. Whitney for his latest book: "The Flowing Road."³ The travels included in this account embraced a continuous journey from Santa Isabel, on the Rio Negro, in Brazil, to Ciudad Bolivar, on the Orinoco, in Venezuela; from San Fernando, on the Apure, to the head waters and return, of the Orinoco by way of the Atabapo and the Casi-



CASPAR WHITNEY

(Who writes of extended river journeys in South America)

quiere; down the Portuguesa, in Venezuela, the Apure and the Orinoco, to its mouth; and on the Parana, the Salado, and Feliciano rivers in Argentina. Mr. Whitney also made saddle trips crossing the mountain ranges and penetrating the pampas of the Argentine and the forests of Brazil. The object of two of his most prolonged journeys was to have a look at the native people in the far southeastern corner of Venezuela. Altogether Mr. Whitney has succeeded in finding out a great deal about the continent and its inhabitants that will be wholly new to most of his North American readers. To such as may be inspired by his book to venture on like journeys themselves, Mr. Whitney offers many useful suggestions. He tells us that one may now go to all the important centers of South America in comfort. Excellent steamers ascend the Amazon, the Parana, the Magdalena, and the lower Orinoco. In a sleeping car from Buenos Aires on the Atlantic side, one may cross the Andes to Valparaiso on the Pacific. Comfortable railway travel is also possible in the Argentine, in Venezuela, in Chile, and in Brazil, while in Peru and Ecuador one may have two train trips which Mr. Whitney reckons among the most famous of the world.

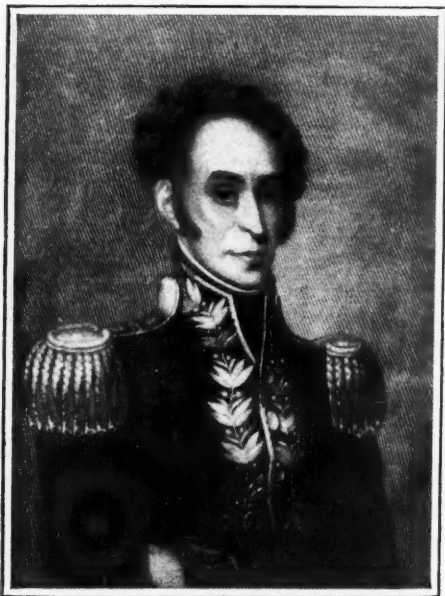
Another extremely interesting account of South American journeys is "The Path of the Conquistadores," by Lindon Bates, Jr.⁴ In this volume the author describes Trinidad and Venezuelan Guiana, introducing into his narrative a sufficient amount

¹The American Mediterranean. By Stephen Bonsal. Moffat, Yard & Co. 488 pp., ill. \$3.

²A Mexican Journey. By E. H. Blichfeldt. T. Y. Crowell Co. 280 pp., ill. \$2.

³The Flowing Road. By Caspar Whitney. J. B. Lippincott Co. 319 pp., ill. \$3.

⁴The Path of the Conquistadores. By Lindon Bates, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 307 pp., ill. \$3.50.



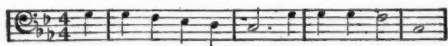
SIMON BOLIVAR, "THE LIBERATOR"

(From a painting by Francis M. Drexel, reproduced in "The Path of the Conquistadores")

of history to excite the reader's interest and answer some questions suggested by the memorials that the "Conquistadores" left in those countries.

Two comprehensive, useful books on the North American North, both well illustrated, are: Mr. William Brooks Cabot's "In Northern Labrador,"¹ and Charles Sheldon's "The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands."² Mr. Cabot's volume is the result of several thousand miles of interior travel extending over a period of twelve years. Mr. Sheldon's recital is largely the account of a hunter's experiences on the coast islands of British Columbia and Alaska.

The Far
North



CANOE SONG OF GABOON, REPRODUCED FROM "THE FETISH FOLK OF WEST AFRICA"

(All African music, like Oriental music, sings downward)

Mr. Robert H. Milligan supplements his work on "The Jungle Folk of Africa" with a volume devoted to "The Fetish Folk of West Africa."³

African
Life

Whereas in the earlier book the African is described in relation to his surroundings, his external world, in the present volume the author attempts to reveal the interior world of the African, his mental

¹In Northern Labrador. By William Brooks Cabot. Boston: The Gorham Press (Richard G. Badger). 292 pp., ill. \$2.50.

²The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands. By Charles Sheldon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 246 pp., ill. \$2.

³The Fetish Folk of West Africa. By Robert H. Milligan. Fleming H. Revell Co. 328 pp., ill. \$1.50.

habits. Needless to say, this is a subject that few writers have ventured to treat, and the white men who have lived close enough to the African in his native land to write intelligently of his folk lore are certainly not numerous. Mr. Milligan has had the advantage of close association with the negro in Africa and has been a student of fetishism to good purpose.

One of those books on special phases of African native life which affords more than usually entertaining reading is Mr. Hilton-Simpson's description of the "Land and Peoples of the Kasai."⁴ This is a narrative of a two years' journey among the cannibals of the Equatorial forest and other savage tribes of the southwestern Congo. It is provided with several useful maps and many illustrations. These latter are taken from photographs made by the author himself, who, however, deplors the fact that many of his best negatives were spoiled because of the damp climate.



CARIBOU ON QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLAND

(Illustration from "The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands")

Once understood, the Chinese are a lovable and great people. This is the verdict of a Westerner who has lived and worked among them for fifty years. J. Macgowan, who desires to stand forth as an interpreter of China to the West, writes with sympathetic understanding of the Chinese character. Two great deeds in Chinese history prove that the sons of Han are a strong race. The first, Mr. Macgowan tells us in his preface, was achieved two

⁴Land and Peoples of the Kasai. By W. M. Hilton-Simpson. A. C. McClurg & Co. 356 pp., ill. \$3.50.

centuries before Christ, when Shih Huang-ti, the Napoleon of China, built the Great Wall to prevent the wild tribes from harrowing his subjects. Nearly two thousand miles in length, and over twenty feet in height, it winds over mountains and valleys, and has stood the wear and tear of more than twenty centuries. The second great deed is now being done—a deed even greater than the establishment of the Republic. The mailed fist of the military West has been trying for seventy years to force opium on the Chinese. Millions of money have been invested in it and China's teeming populations have been slowly enmeshed in its web, and yet China, by its own internal force of character, has dropped the opium habit. "To-day the bloom of the poppy is vanishing out of the land, and within another year or two opium will have been expelled from the whole of the eighteen provinces." This volume, which is written with unusual clarity and comprehensiveness of style, is copiously illustrated.¹

Henri Borel, the official Chinese interpreter in the Dutch East Indies, has given us another book on this subject which he entitles "The New China: A Traveler's Impressions."² This is also an intimate recital of the life of the people on a less ambitious scale than Mr. Macgowan's volume. It is illustrated. The translation from the Dutch has been made by C. Thieme.

What the author calls a review and a reverie concerning dramatic and enlightening experiences in Ireland is entitled "The Pope's Green Island."³

The writer, Mr. W. P. Ryan, is an Irish journalist, who has, for the past five years, been editing two Irish magazines, the *Irish Peasant* and the *Irish Nation*. His book, which one kindly English critic has called "the best book on Ireland ever written by an Irishman," is characterized in the introduction as "a light tipped account of the social, economic, religious, literary conditions in Ireland at the present time." Particularly interesting is that portion devoted to the history and aims of the Gaelic League.

That veteran traveler, historian, and descriptive writer, William Elliot Griffis, has produced another book on Central Europe: "Belgium the Land of Art,"⁴ than which no other land is richer or more affluent.

Dr. Griffis writes with his wonted wealth of anecdote and his usual charm of style. The volume is illustrated.

It has been the fault of the guide books often to treat Portugal as a continuation, almost a province, of Spain. Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell, in his book "In Portugal,"⁵ hopes to give some idea of the distinctive individuality of the country and to point out the "utterly opposed character of the two peoples, which must probably render eternal the divorce between Spain and Portugal." The text reads

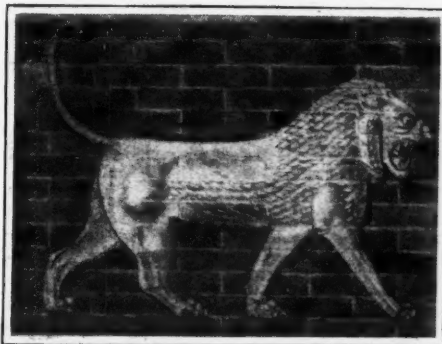
¹Men and Manners of Modern China. By J. Macgowan. Dodd, Mead & Co. 350 pp., ill. \$3.50.

²The New China: A Traveler's Impressions. By Henri Borel. Dodd, Mead & Co. 282 pp., ill. \$3.50.

³The Pope's Green Island. By W. P. Ryan. Small, Maynard & Co. 325 pp. \$1.50.

⁴Belgium the Land of Art. By William Elliot Griffis. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 310 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁵In Portugal. By Aubrey F. G. Bell. John Lane Co. 237 pp. \$2.



A LION DECORATING THE GATEWAY OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE (Illustration from "Bismya")

very entertainingly, but a few illustrations would have added much to the volume.

In "Twice Around the World,"⁶ Edgar Allen Forbes, author of "The Land of the White Helmet," gives us a snappy, graphic account of what a "live wire" American saw in a double circumnavigation of the globe. There is a certain refreshing colloquialness about the way Mr. Forbes uses the vernacular in describing his adventures, which were many and varied. This book is packed full of illustrations, the captions of which are always apt, if not startlingly appropriate.

That redoubtable traveler and lecturer, Dwight L. Elmendorf, in a refreshingly worded preface to his new book, "A Camera Crusade Through the Holy Land,"⁷ has the courage to compare himself with Peter the Hermit, not entirely to the advantage of that ancient worthy. He went through the Holy Land, he tells us, for the express purpose of seeing for himself the places mentioned in the Bible, to study ancient customs which still remain, and if possible to understand the significance of many sentences of the Scriptures which were very obscure. The volume is sumptuously illustrated with full page photogravure reproductions of photographs.

Early in the summer of 1898 Dr. Edgar James Banks, Field Director of the Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, set out for Babylonia to excavate among the ruins. His investigations were chiefly confined to the ruined mound of Bismya and were remarkably successful. He has told the story of these adventures and explorations in a copiously illustrated book which he has entitled "Bismya or the Lost City of Adab."⁸ No other Babylonian ruin, except perhaps Tello, where the French have been at work for many years, have yielded so many beautiful objects of ancient art as Bismya. Statues, vases, gold, copper and ivory objects, tablets of

⁶Twice Around the World. By Edgar Allen Forbes. Fleming H. Revell Co. 319 pp., ill. \$2.

⁷A Camera Crusade Through the Holy Land. By Dwight L. Elmendorf. Charles Scribner's Sons. Ill. \$3.

⁸Bismya or the Lost City of Adab. By Edgar James Banks. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 455 pp., ill. \$5.



A PICTURESQUE BIT OF GLOUCESTER HARBOR
(Frontispiece from "Historic Summer Haunts")

clay, graves, weapons of war, fragments of palaces, temples and private homes, household utensils, and even games and toys of children—all these unite in "forming a distinct picture of the life and civilization of the people of Babylonia of five thousand or more years ago."

Many sons and daughters of New England will be thankful to Mr. F. Lauriston Bullard and Mr. Louis H. Ruyl, who figure as the author and illustrator, respectively, of "Historic Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland."¹ As the title implies, these glimpses of historic New England are confined chiefly to the towns and villages along the coast. There is, however, a slight departure from this plan in the chapter devoted to the "Whittier country," which means, of course, the valley of the Merrimac. Mr. Ruyl's etchings give characteristic examples of New England coast scenery and all of the subjects have historical associations that give them a perennial interest for New Englanders.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

AT last we have the personal and literary life of Mark Twain, by his friend and associate, Albert Bigelow Paine, a three-volume biography² fully illustrated with letters, comments, and incidental writings hitherto unpublished, with new episodes and anecdotes, make this a fascinating story. "When I was younger," Mr. Clemens once said quaintly, "I could remember anything whether it happened or not, but I am getting old, and soon I shall remember only the latter." It was to correct this tendency in the writings about Mark Twain by himself and others that Mr. Paine has conscientiously prepared this memoir. It is saturated with the Mark Twain spirit and fairly glows with an affection that the writer does not attempt to conceal. One of the most characteristic things about Mark, says Mr. Paine, was his domesticity. This is a side of the great humorist not always recognized. It is well illustrated in Mr. Clemens' own quaint way. Upon his return from his last trip abroad he is said to have remarked to one of the reporters on the steamer, "If I ever get ashore, I am going to break both my legs so that I cannot get away again."

From the abundant manuscript materials that were collected during his lifetime by the late John Nicolay, who was one of President Lincoln's secretaries, Miss Helen Nicolay has compiled a volume wholly concerned with the personal traits of the martyr President.³ The overflowing envelopes of personal jottings, private letters, and newspaper clippings which had been arranged by her father under this head have been blended into a systematic and coherent volume by Miss Nicolay, who herself grew up in an atmosphere of devotion to Lincoln. Since the publication of "Abraham Lincoln: A History," by Nicolay and Hay, new letters have

come to light, and these have been drawn upon in the preparation of "Personal Traits." Although many books of Lincoln anecdotes are in existence, it is doubtful whether among them all there is one that contains so much that is authoritative, and at the same time illustrative of the Lincoln character, as will be found between the covers of Miss Nicolay's work.

The surviving officers of our army who saw service in both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War are few in number. One of the most distinguished of this little group, General James Harrison Wilson, gives his recollections of both wars in a two-volume work entitled "Under the Old Flag."⁴ Having been graduated from West Point in 1860, Lieutenant Wilson was serving with the topographical engineers at Fort Vancouver when the Civil War broke out. During the war he first served on the staff of General T. W. Sherman. Later he was with McClellan and Grant at Antietam and Vicksburg, and in the Chattanooga campaign, and as Brigadier General of Volunteers distinguished himself as a cavalry commander under Sheridan. In the last months of the war he organized and commanded the cavalry corps in the campaign against Hood and in the pursuit and capture of Jefferson Davis. In the Spanish War General Wilson commanded the First Division of the First Army Corps in the expedition to Porto Rico. At the time of the Boxer rebellion in China General Wilson was second in command of the American forces. In 1901 General Wilson was placed on the retired list as Brigadier General of the United States Army, with General Fitzhugh Lee and General Joseph Wheeler, in accordance with a special act of Congress. In his recollections of the Civil War General Wilson gives an intimate account of some military operations, especially in

Lincoln Traits

¹Historic Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland. By F. Lauriston Bullard. Little, Brown & Co. 329 pp., ill. \$2.50.

²Mark Twain: A Biography. By Albert Bigelow Paine. Harper & Brothers. 3 vols. 1719 pp., ill. \$6.

³Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln. By Helen Nicolay. The Century Company. 387 pp., ill. \$1.80.

⁴Under the Old Flag. By James Harrison Wilson. D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 1162 pp., ill. \$6.

the closing campaigns, that have received comparatively slight attention from historians. His story throws new light on many of the maneuvers in which he figured, and it is quite possible that more than one of his statements will give rise to controversy. He gives us intimate portraits of Lincoln, Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, Dana, McClellan, and Custer.



LAURA HAWKINS, THE ORIGINAL "BECKY THATCHER" OF "TOM SAWYER"
(From "Mark Twain: a Biography")

A new book on Whistler in the form of "Memories,"¹ by T. R. Way, who knew the artist for many years, brings together some of the most interesting of Whistler's unfinished sketches.

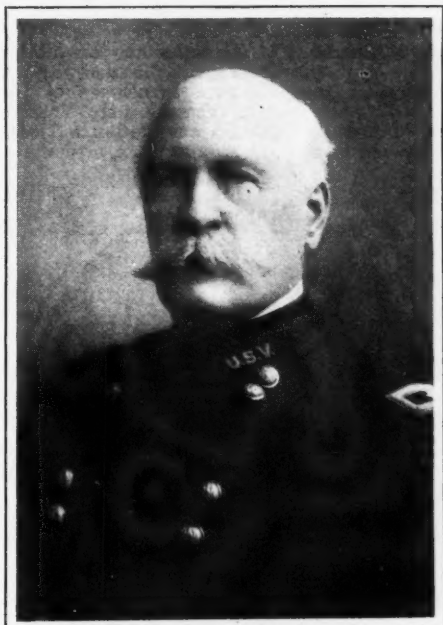
New Memoirs of Whistler It is a sympathetic book, written, however, quite frankly and without any illusion. Mr. Way came to know Whistler because of their common interest in lithography, and it is the lithograph stone that plays a large part in their friendship. The book is copiously illustrated.

In Mr. John Joseph Conway's volume on "Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris,"² are given gossip accounts of the lives of sojourners in the French capital. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Tom Paine, Lafayette,

Americans in Paris Robert Fulton, Paul Jones, Count Rumford, Samuel F. B. Morse, Henry W. Longfellow, William Morris Hunt, Margaret Fuller, Dr. Evans, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, John Howard Payne, Whistler, and a number of lesser known Americans during the siege by the Germans and the Commune. There are many illustrations and a preface

¹Memories of James McNeill Whistler. By Thomas R. Way. John Lane Co. 150 pp., ill. \$3.

²Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris. By John Joseph Conway. John Lane Co. 315 pp., ill. \$3.50.



GEN. JAMES H. WILSON
(Author of "Under the Old Flag")

by Mrs. John Lane. "Every one," said Sadi Carnot, when President of France, "has two countries; his own and France." And, in the words of our own Whitelaw Reid, this has been peculiarly and gratifyingly true of the most eminent Americans.



DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (AN OLD PRINT)
(From the collection of M. Godefroy Mayer, Paris)

A clever French writer, S. G. Tallentyre, author of "The Life of Voltaire," has now written "The Life of Mirabeau."¹ He introduces his subject with the assertion that the two great representative Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were Voltaire and Mirabeau. "Voltaire was the last influence of the old order, and Mirabeau the first of the



MIRABEAU

(From an engraving by Fiesinger, after the picture by Guerin)

new." It is a readable story this, the career of that dominant figure of the Revolution, Gabriel-Honoré de Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau. The biographer closes with the tribute "that piercing and unerring outlook into far consequences of him who was not the subtlest or the adroitest, but the wisest of the statesmen of France."

Dr. Gustav Pollak's biography: "Michael Heilprin and His Sons"² is really the life story of three remarkable men. Dr. Michael Heilprin,

who died in 1888, a scholar and critic, distinguished for his studies in Biblical literature, philology, and history, and his picturesque career as a Hungarian patriot, is well known in this country, as well as in his own land. The career of his younger son,

¹The Life of Mirabeau. By S. G. Tallentyre. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 306 pp., ill. \$3.50.
²Michael Heilprin and His Sons: A Biography. By Gustav Pollak. Dodd, Mead & Co. 540 pp., ill. \$3.50.

Professor Angelo Heilprin, during the catastrophe of Mt. Pelée gave him world-wide fame. It was the weight of authority of this scientist and explorer also which turned the scales during the Senate debate in favor of the Panama route for the canal against the Nicaraguan. The elder son, Louis, who died but a few months ago, was one of the greatest experts in encyclopedia work of his age. The volume is illustrated, chiefly with portraits.

In the "Heroes of the Nations" series, which the Putnams have been bringing out at intervals during many years, we now have "Canute the Great,"³

by Laurence Marcellus Larson, of the History Department of the University of Illinois. Around the biographical sketch of the famous Scandinavian who became King of England, Professor Larson has woven the story of the rise of Danish imperialism during the Viking age. The book is illustrated with reproductions of coins and medals, maps, runic stones, and tapestries.

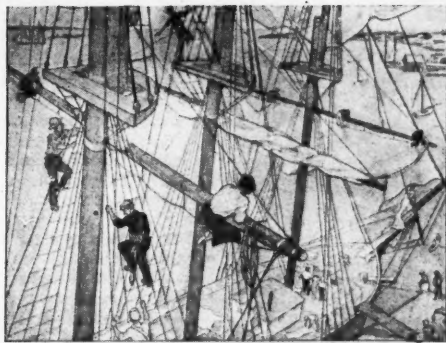


MICHAEL HEILPRIN

(From "Michael Heilprin and His Sons")

³Canute the Great. By Laurence Marcellus Larson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 375 pp., ill. \$1.50.





THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION IN "THE SEASHORE BOOK." STORY AND PICTURES BY E. BOYD SMITH. (HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN)
(Half-tone reduced. A good effect of distance)

PICTURE BOOKS IN COLOR

HOW THE NEW THREE-COLOR PROCESS IS MAKING OUR GIFT BOOKS FOR CHILDREN ATTRACTIVE

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

HOW many fond parents in selecting a Christmas book for "Buster," and choosing one with colored pictures, are aware of the scientific knowledge and expert labor that go to produce that book?

Very few, we venture to surmise! Yet the arts of engraving and printing in color as practiced to-day, are closely akin to the marvelous discoveries in light and sound waves, in photography and chemistry, that have made moving pictures, and telephones, and talking machines, possible. Color printing is used extensively in all kinds of books and periodicals, but it is in the books for children that we find some of the most delightful surprises of picture-book making. As perfect accuracy is not required on the part of the artist or plate maker—as it would be in a scientific book, for example, where precious stones, flowers, insects, or birds were to be depicted—hues sometimes run riot as it were in a most fascinating manner.

"Little Red Riding Hood's" mantle makes as brilliant a scarlet against the dense green of the wood, as even Solomon might covet. The atmospheric glow in Maxfield Parrish's romantic compositions (partly due to his special stipple technique), harmonizes with their ultra imaginative character. Foreign artists like Edmund Dulac are able to render costumes of silks and satins bedecked with embroidery, metal and precious stones, that scintillate on the printed page to a degree that rivals the miniatures of Van Eyck. No longer does the author have to record the fact that "Goldilocks'" hair was like spun gold, the color prints have visualized its luster for us. As "Blue Beard" mounts the stairs in pursuit of Sister Ann his beard glows in the sunlight in richest ultramarine. The "Water Babies" swim about in apple green water, companions to pink-tailed fishes, and iridescent bubbles rise as they breathe.

For a number of seasons H. J. Ford has designed the colored pictures for Andrew Lang's Fairy Books. These are printed in four colors (viz., yellow, blue and two hues of red, a vermilion and a carmine). Here lapis lazuli blues, oriole scarlets, amber yellows, and Persian oranges and greens, combine to make pictures that possess as exotic a flavor as do the foreign tales in the letter-press.

Tiny details are sometimes preserved in a way that makes the minute etchings of Cruikshank look like rough sketches. In the original illustration for "Gulliver's Voyages," by P. A. Staynes, which we reproduce on page 763, the yellow of the Chinese ceramics is counterfeited with an accuracy that would be acceptable in a *catalogue de luxe* of an art connoisseur's collection.

A few words upon some of the processes that produce these colored pictures, may perhaps, assist the reader to appreciate the illustrated gift books that our publishers offer each holiday season.

SOME FIRST PRINCIPLES OF COLOR PRINTING

A few "first principles" to bear in mind are as follows:

Except in etching, copper-plate engraving and in lithography, all printing surfaces must be in relief. All methods here under consideration require relief "blocks."

Every letter "o" on this page is printed from a metal circle *in relief*, which is inked by rollers every time a page is printed. All lines and dots in the pictures in these pages are in similar relief—type high—and so printed.

A few homely illustrations will perhaps make the entire process of color printing clear.

Imagine the end of a wooden spool; think of this as a "cut" or "plate" i. e. the printing surface. If the spool were put in our press, type high, it would



A PAGE ILLUSTRATION (REDUCED) IN "ALL THE YEAR ROUND" BY JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY (BOBBS-MERRILL)

(A woodcut engraved and printed—from six blocks—by Gustave Baumann. In the book the colors were all flat tints, in our reduction the half-tone dots and cross lines of the ruled Levy screen—120 lines to the square inch—are to be distinguished under a magnifying glass. By realizing that a common spool, cut by hand to an octagonal form, would print an "O" like the one in (s)tove(s), one should understand perfectly the nature of the hand work in wood engraving. By realizing that an "O" painted the same color as this one in the illustration—a yellowish buff—would if half-toned "come out" exactly like the "O" above, one may realize how an original drawing or painting is reproduced by half-tone, without any hand work)

print a very heavy "o" in black. If you stamp the spool end on to an inking pad and then press it upon paper, it prints the *color of the ink of the pad*. That is the important thing to remember.

Turn to the wood cut by Mr. Baumann; note the "o" in (s)tove(s) and see how easy it is to imagine that "o" as a spool end, with the margins cut off (by a penknife) eight times to make an octagonal form!

WOOD ENGRAVING, THE PROCESS OF THE PAST

The woodcut was used for centuries for very beautiful color printing, first in flat tints as in Mr. Baumann's prints; later, after the days of Bewick, graduated tints were obtained by breaking up the flat tints with white lining. Perhaps the most lovely colored illustrations that ever appeared were those designed by Kate Greenaway in the Seventies, and they were broken up into soft tints by the wood engraver Edmund Evans. But to-day the woodcut is rarely used, photo-engraving having taken its place.



LINE PLATE, ZINC ETCHING, REDUCED, FROM AN ILLUSTRATION, IN BLACK AND RED, IN "THE KEWPIES AND DOTTY DARLING", PICTURES AND VERSES BY ROSE O'NEILL (DORAN)

(The original, a pen drawing. A Ben Day tint, put on the apple, flag, hair ribbon and shoes)

PHOTO-ENGRAVING—LINE WORK—USED TO REPRODUCE PEN DRAWINGS

Photo-engraving is easily understood by any one who has used a camera.

In "line work" the artist makes a pen drawing in line. The drawing is placed before a camera. These lines are photographed exactly as the amateur would "photograph telegraph wires—they 'come' dark against the sky. The negative is then developed.

In the negative as every "camerist" knows, the dark lines appear as white lines. This negative is put over a zinc plate that has been previously sensitized with some substance that hardens when exposed to light (say albumen and bichromate of ammonia). The light passing through the white lines of the negative makes this coating insoluble in the line (image) part only. Then the rest of the coating is washed off the plate. When the plate is dry, it is heated slightly, and dusted with some resistant to acid (like resin, dragon's blood, etc.) this powder sticks to the lines, but is easily dusted off the rest of the plate. The plate is now immersed in (or sprayed with) an acid (and water) bath, the acid eats into the rest of the plate, lowering it, *leaving the lines in relief*. Here is our printing surface.

The pen drawing by Faith Avery, on the opposite page was etched in this way.

THE HALF-TONE PROCESS

"Line work" is a perfect process for reproducing black lines, or dots, or solid blacks, but it does not reproduce the graduation of tone called "half-tone." A process was needed which would faithfully reproduce photographs, artists' "wash drawings" and paintings. Several minds set to work and a process was devised as follows:

A negative (on an orthochromatic plate) is made from the original photograph, wash drawing, or painting "copy", and is etched very much as is the pen drawing in line work. Only, between the lens and the plate (to become the negative) is placed a grating or screen, this formerly was a gauze or mesh, but to-day it is generally two ruled sheets of glass, cemented together so that the lines are at right angles, forming tiny squares between them, or at other angles forming lozenges or diamonds between them. (See Figure C.) (The mezzograph screen is granulated, not ruled.)

This screen is the crux of half-tone engraving. It breaks up the picture into a multitude of dots. Examine under a magnifying glass our illustration Figure C, and then look at every illustration in this article (except the four line cuts which were reproduced by the zinc etching) and you will see that a series of tiny dots and lines produce the image.

In the light of the foregoing it ought to be easy to understand that if Mr. Baumann's "o" were to be reproduced by photo-engraving, he would draw an octagonal black "o" on paper and it would be photographed and etched, as described, above, that is mechanically and not cut by hand as he cuts his "o" on wood.

THE THREE-COLOR PROCESS—THE PROCESS OF THE FUTURE

By the three-color process is usually meant, the producing of three different plates (one for printing yellow, one for red, one for blue) from an artist's painting, or from nature, by the half-tone process. In the four-color process a black plate, or an extra red plate, is used in addition.

The three-color process is the half-tone process plus the use of three color filters. (Usually placed before the lens.) It is the use of the filter that has made the Kinemacolor moving picture possible.

Now every amateur photographer knows that the ordinary non-orthochromatic plate is extremely sensitive to blue light, the blue rays travel so rapidly through it that blue "comes out" almost like white. White light is the most rapid traveling color. To rectify partially this fault, orthochromatic or color sensitive plates are used and a yellow film (of, say, gelatin) is placed on the camera, the blue rays are absorbed or delayed in it, as it were, so they come through more slowly, more nearly approximating the red and yellow rays, which are not delayed but are naturally slow traveling colors.

On this principle the three-color plates are produced. Imagine a painting of six circles like spool ends—yellow, orange, red, green, blue and brown—as being before the camera, adjusted to take a half-tone upon an orthochromatic plate. To make the blue plate (i. e. the plate to print blue from) we do what the amateur photographer does when he wants to take the blue sky, we put an orange (composed of red and yellow), or a red, filter in front of the lens. This filter may be a sheet of colored glass or of dyed gelatin, or a liquid dye inclosed in a glass cell. The *negative* made through this filter is really a picture of the yellows and reds and the oranges that surround the blue circle. The *negative* is unaffected in the blues hence when this negative is placed over the copper plate (to be etched,) the light passes through where the blue images are transparent. The light hardens the sensitive coating on the copper plate, so the coating does not wash off, but acts as a resister when the plate is etched, the result is metal in relief to receive blue printing ink. The reds are photographed through a green filter, and the yellows through a blue-violet filter. (The process may differ somewhat abroad so that other colored filters may be used.) To recapitulate—the color that is opaque in the filter is transparent in the developed negative, and is again opaque in the final plates. In short,

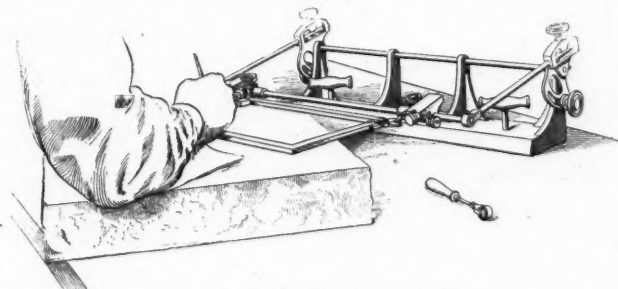


LINE PLATE, ZINC ETCHING, REDUCED FROM A PAGE ILLUSTRATION IN "BETTY-BIDE-AT-HOME" BY BEULAH M. DIX (HOLT)

(Originally drawn by Faith Avery in ink lines only; the tint put on by Ben Day film, tint No. 526 used on the flesh, and No. 318 on the rest of the drawing. This gives a very graphic idea of the make-up of a hand-tinted color plate. If printed in red over yellow it would complete the flesh tones in the face and hands, and produce an orange hue elsewhere, which printed on from a blue plate would become brown)

the rays from our blue^s spool end would not go through the red filter, therefore the negative would be plain glass, and hence in the copper plate to print from would be solid opaque. And this is true of every particle of blue that made up greens and purples and browns.

When printing these three half-tone plates, the pressman uses three inks—yellow, red, and blue. The red is printed over the yellow (after it is dry) and the result is an orange proof (pure yellows and pure reds of course being the result if they were in the original copy, but orange being the result in the mixed shadings and hues). The blue plate, printing blue over the yellow, produces green. The blue, over the red, produces purple, and over the full orange it produces browns; over the light oranges it produces gray shading tones. These mixed gray tones are the ones most characteristic of the three-color half-tone process.



HAND-TINTING APPARATUS IN USE

(Fig. A.—A Ben Day Shading Medium machine. The artist's hand is "laying" a tint onto a lithographic stone, by pressing on the gelatin film with a stomp or burnisher. For larger tints he will use the roller seen on the table. He may lift the frame and put a zinc plate under it)



HALF-TONE, 120 LINES, REDUCED, FROM THE COLORED COVER OF "PIGGY-WIGGY" (STOKES)

(The original was a pen, or brush, black outline-drawing, tinted in colors by the artist, Mrs. Grace G. Wiederseim, the designer of the "Campbell Kids." This was given to a draughtsman who traced it in black. From this tracing four photographic transfers were made on zinc plates. Each plate was put under a Ben Day film and a tint imprinted on it, to correspond to the colors of Mrs. Wiederseim's original. All the blacks on one plate, the key plate, the yellows on another, the reds on another, the blues on another. In the picture above one may discern in addition to the stipple of the final colored cover, the cross lines of our half-tone screen)

There is an element of uncertainty in the half-tone/three-color process, that sometimes gives unsatisfactory results. Grays "come" too light and colorless, the browns "come" muddy, and the red and pink objects look "burned up." On the other hand at times quite unexpected and pleasing effects are produced.

THE BEN DAY PROCESS, A "HAND TINT" PROCESS

The three-colored half-tone process is entirely mechanical and yet it is an expensive process. A less costly process than it, by which nearly all the colored supplements for the daily papers are made, is the Ben Day process—named after the inventor—by which the tint plates are made by hand.

In Figure A one may see a draughtsman working with the Ben Day process. Under his hand is a frame which corresponds to a transparent slate,

but in place of glass it is fitted with a film of gelatin. The under side of the gelatin is embossed with tiny points or lines. This surface he inks with a roller charged with printer's ink. The lines or dots thus inked do not prevent his seeing through the gelatin. Underneath the gelatin he places a plate usually of zinc, upon which has been transferred by photography a copy of a key-plate.

In the case of Mrs. Wiederseim's "Piggy-Wiggy" the key plate was a photograph of a tracing he made of her original illustration (which was a black, pen or brush, drawing, she had colored in water colors.) With this original as a "copy" before him, the draughtsman lays a tint on one plate for the yellows, a tint on another plate for the reds, and on another for the blue.

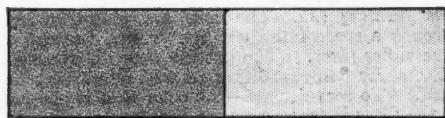
The process of "laying" the tint is as follows:

Wherever he wishes a tint, he leaves the plate exposed, over the rest he paints in a wash of gamboge water color, then he puts the plate under the film and goes over the film with the little roller we see in Figure A. The pressure from this *imprints* the dots or lines from the underside of the film *onto the zinc*. This gives an even tint, say for the red in a face; if he wishes to increase the tint, say a little on the cheeks, still more on the lips, he shifts the plate a fraction of a line and presses down again with a smaller instrument (a stomp or a burnisher), this enlarges the dots or lines and so thickens the tint. Another shift and another pressure and the tint is thickened still more. The gamboge is then washed off, taking with it any impression of ink that may have run over the outlines of the parts intended to be tinted.

Now the plate is ready to be etched. It is treated as in the line-work process. The result is a plate that will print a series of dots, as in Figure C, or grainings, as in Figure B, or lines. These plates are printed just as the half-tone plates are.

SOME SUCCESSES IN THIS SEASON'S BOOKS

As we have said, Mr. H. J. Ford introduces an exotic coloring into his pictures in the Lang books.



SPECIMENS OF HAND TINTS IN USE

Fig. B. (Grain stipple No. 318, and Fig. C. half-tone stipple No. 526, of the Ben Day films, the same as were used upon a metal plate, on which had been transferred a reduced photographic facsimile of Miss Avery's pen drawing. The tints and the lines were then etched together in one operation)

This season's volume is called "The Book of Saints and Heroes," by Mrs. Lang, edited by Andrew Lang (Longmans, Green) and Mr. Ford has surpassed himself in several of the plates; the one of "St. George," with its rich scarlets is, as a "Bromide" would say "worth framing"; and the stretch of blue water lit by moonlight, in "Crossing the River," is most effective.

Charles Robinson is another English illustrator with a keen appreciation of the effect of both line and tint. He has decorated "The Big Book of Fables"—edited by Walter Jerrold—on every page, and there are over three hundred. All the pictures are not perfect, but a large number are



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "THE BIG BOOK OF FABLES" (CALDWELL)

(The original from a tinted drawing by Chas. Robinson. The print in the book was lighter, an amber-tint, but the general effect is well preserved here)

most sprightly, and striking in color effects, as in the frontispiece "The Peacock and the Crane," with its wealth of feathers and roses, it is remarkably well spotted. The English illustrators have evolved a style (perhaps Arthur Rackham is mainly responsible for it) consisting of a firm outline, usually in brown ink, and a limited number of tints of noncommittal color. Mr. Robinson's illustra-

tion of "The Maid and the Needle," which we reproduce, is a striking example of this style. It looks something like tinted vellum or ivory. One is not sure whether the woodwork, wall, and floor, are yellow, or blue, or gray.

Another Robinson book is a new edition of Anatole France's "Bee, the Princess of the Dwarfs," retold in English by Peter Wright (Dutton). The color plates are noticeably free from "muddy" tints, the blacks are sparingly introduced, and therefore "tell" with maximum force. A heavy dark brown line frames each picture (there are sixteen) which greatly enhances its clarity. Altogether this new edition of "Bee" is a very sumptuous one.



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN KINGSLEY'S "WATER-BABIES" (LITTLE, BROWN)

(The original a delicately tinted water color, by Ethel F. Everett. Examine under a glass, and note black cross lines of our half tone screen in the border)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "ALICE IN WONDERLAND," BY LEWIS CARROLL (JACOBS)

(The original a tinted drawing by Elenore Plaisted Abbott)

The illustrations by René Bull in a new edition of "The Arabian Nights" (Dodd, Mead) are mounted on brown paper, which gives a much wider margin than in "Bee," and perhaps makes Mr. Bull's designs brilliant to a greater degree than Mr. Robinson's. But this is not altogether due to the mount, but rather to Mr. Bull's way of working, for he aims at brilliancy above everything else, and he certainly runs further in the gamut of shades and hues than does any other illustrator we know of. The costume of the "Genie" in the frontispiece is surely a *tour de force* of four-color illustration.



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "GULLIVER'S VOYAGES," BY SWIFT (HOLT)

(The original from a water color by P. A. Staynes. The print in the book was much lighter, the yellows have "come" too dark in our half-tone reproduction)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "PRINCESS RAGS," BY HARRIET T. COMSTOCK (DOUBLEDAY, PAGE)

(The original was a water color by E. R. Lee Thayer. The color in the mother's gown is of a pleasant turquoise blue)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "DICKENS'S CHILDREN" (SCRIBNERS)

(The original a charcoal drawing on Japan paper tinted in water color, by Jessie Willcox Smith. Our half-tone is a little darker than the print, but the values throughout are pretty well preserved)

there is something so distinctive that we feel no one else could have composed them. In the picture on page 6 we see Gulliver prone upon a green hill, that seems to extend for miles and miles toward the horizon, and on it over a hundred tiny Lilliputians, who have bound Gulliver, are moving about in vivid pageantry, yet none is higher than half an inch! On page 156 is the illustration we reproduce, and it is a marvelous specimen of English plate making and color printing. The minute decorative details on the ceramics and silks "come out" most remarkably. They are quite in keeping with the present day stage craft attention to color minutiae as witnessed in "The Daughter of Heaven."

Miss H. Cowham is another British illustrator with a brilliant future. Her spindle-legged children are "cute" beyond description. She has only one picture in "Caldwell's Boys and Girls At Home" (Caldwell), but that, reproduced by half-tone from a water color, possesses a sketchy effect, especially in the white costume of the little girls, that is quite equal to the French draughtsmen at their best. In the same volume is also a reproduction of a water color by F. Harrison—"A Snowy Day," that is full of sentiment.

American artists are led by Jessie Willcox Smith. Her ten drawings of "Dickens's Children" (Scribners) are the result of many years experience in designing for color printing. Here again we must quote the "Bromide" and say "worth framing."

Miss Florence Storer is not so expert in her technique but there is genuine sentiment in her

composition, and her snow effects are quite distinctive in "Christmas Tales" by Eugene Field. (Scribners).

It would by no means be unprofitable for any art student wishing to post himself on the possibilities of the different reproductive processes, if he would compare these snow scenes with two (January and November) by Gustave Baumann, illustrating James Whitcomb Riley's "All the Year Round" (Bobbs-Merrill). The comparison of the tones produced by thousands of minute dots in Miss Storer's pictures, and the perfectly flat tones in Mr. Baumann's pictures, would make the student appreciate the fact that the same results are often obtained in art by very different means. We are not certain that the publishers list the Riley volume among their juveniles, but it having been grouped with the picture books we have made use of it, since it so graphically demonstrates the fundamental principles of relief blocks and color printing. Besides Riley is so associated in the young people's mind with "Little Orphant Annie," that they may take to his Burns-like verses for each month, and appreciate them, as well in Mr. Baumann's prints.

A new edition of George MacDonald's "The Princess and Curdie" (Caldwell) contains twelve full page illustrations in color by Helen Stratton. A roseate sunset in "Curdie Watches the White Pigeon" is highly characteristic of the new four-color printing.

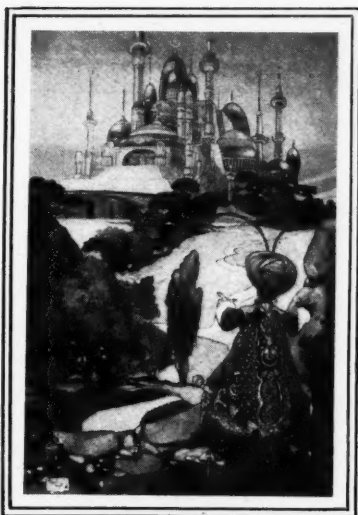
The several illustrations in "The Gold Fish" by Julian Street (John Lane), designed by Eugenie Wireman, are effectively reproduced, especially in the colors of the goldfish globe.

A new edition of "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" (Jacobs), contains some full page color



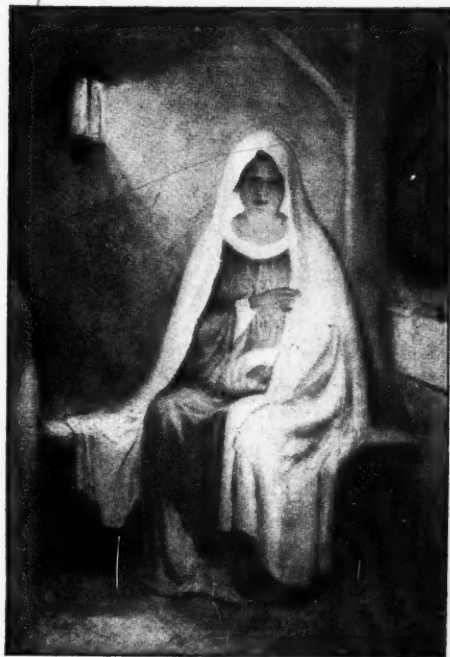
HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "CALDWELL'S BOYS AND GIRLS AT HOME" (CALDWELL)

(The original a water color by one of the most clever of English illustrators, Miss H. Cowham. Examination of this plate, under a magnifying glass, will give one a clear idea of the half-tone dots. Compare the white cross lines in Fig. C)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "THE ARABIAN NIGHTS," (DODD, MEAD) DESIGNED BY RENÉ BULL

(Light greens in the landscape very luminous; figure and foreground a violet color, are too dark in our reproduction)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "CHRISTMAS TALES" BY EUGENE FIELD (SCRIBNERS)

(The original was a water color by Miss Florence Storer. There are refined neutral tints throughout the picture)

prints designed by Elenore Plaisted Abbott. The frontispiece, which we reproduce, shows a very firm outline, well adapted to the exigencies of color printing.

Sometimes our publishers do not go so far as to use three or four prints, but content themselves with two color printings that give very effective results. They add a decorative effect to a book and take away from the monotony of black type. In "Once Upon a Time Tales," by Mary Stewart, (Revell) the illustrations by Griselda M. McClure, are printed in brown and dull orange, and the result is pleasant.



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION IN "THE BOOK OF SAINTS AND HEROES"—ANDREW LANG FAIRY-BOOK SERIES (LONGMANS, GREEN)

(The original, a water color by H. J. Ford. Our reproduction "comes" much blacker than the print in the book, which was full of orange yellows)

The cover of "Live Dolls in Wonderland," by Josephine Scribner Gates (Bobbs-Merrill), is in three colors from a water color by the illustrator of the book, Virginia Keep. It is drawn in a free sketchy style, and makes an admirable façade for a child's book.

The Penn Publishing Company have used a touch of color on their title pages with good result. They use a simple device, or design, printed in black with a solid blue background that fits the page admirably, as, for instance, in Roger Paulding, "Gunner's Mate," (by Edward I. Beach, illustrated by Frank T. Merrill) where the ocean is a solid blue. In this book also a blue tone is printed over the frontispiece, which again emphasizes the value of colored inks.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE brief cable despatch which appeared in the newspapers a few weeks ago telling of the discovery of forged Belgian railroad bonds to the amount of more than \$6,000,000 has raised the question whether investors in this country might not be victimized in a similar way. The values of properties which stock and bond certificates represent constitute a subject which is usually so much more important than the mere quality, validity or security of the paper certificates themselves that not enough attention is paid to the possibility of loss in these latter directions.

When we accept a dollar bill we think little of the paper certificate itself because it states on its face that "this certifies that there has been deposited in the Treasury of the United States of America one silver dollar," and we know there is little chance of anyone breaking into the Treasury and carrying off that silver dollar. But just as the Government is ever on the alert to detect counterfeit bills so it is necessary that someone should ever be on the alert to prevent counterfeit, or forged, bonds and stocks. It is such a fixed habit of mind with us to regard the European countries as superior to the United States in all investment matters that Americans may be pardoned a little pride in knowing that in respect to bogus securities there are more effective safeguards in this country against such deception than exist in Europe.

It is reported that several banks were victimized by the forged Belgian railway bonds. Such a thing is practically impossible in this country. If you purchase a share of stock or a bond in a legitimate corporation you can practically be certain it is an authentic certificate. That is one worry the American investor does not have. This secureness is due chiefly to the efforts of the New York Stock Exchange and to the fact that one powerful engraving company has attained a degree of efficiency which reduces to a minimum the possibility of forged certificates being circulated. Not so many years ago forged bonds and shares were not uncommon in Wall Street and inferior printing and lithography presented peculiar temptations to the unscrupulous. But ultimately the Stock Exchange virtually limited the securities which it would admit to those engraved by one careful, effi-

cient and powerful company, and forgery has practically faded away. Of course there are many stocks and bonds not listed on the Exchange, but the standards set by the Exchange have extended to nearly all issuing corporations and the virtual monopoly which one company secured from the Exchange enabled it to secure a lion's share of other work.

It has been charged that the Stock Exchange is altogether too favorable toward one engraving company. That may or may not be the case. This much is true: that no stock or bond can be dealt in on the Exchange until the proper authorities are confident the engraving company has taken the utmost precautions for the preservation of its plates from fire and theft and from the possibility of illegitimate use or forgery. Every bond, coupon or certificate of stock must be printed from steel plates, and the manner of printing, and to a certain extent the colors are specifically provided for by the Stock Exchange, not only to prevent counterfeiting but also to make a distinctive appearance for different amounts and denominations.

Thus the investor is protected against counterfeits, but nothing will protect him against his own carelessness in losing securities or leaving them in insecure places. No man or woman who owns securities should fail to have a memorandum, in duplicate or even triplicate, containing a complete description of each certificate with numbers and name of bankers from whom purchased. Investors who live where there are safe deposit companies can take no better precaution than to rent a safe deposit box for \$5 or \$10 a year to place their securities in. There are a great many persons who think they cannot afford this, but in the long run it proves a very cheap method of insurance. There is no recorded instance of an effort to break into a modern safe deposit vault, and even such a terrific fire as that which destroyed the Equitable Life Assurance Society Building in New York City left \$300,000,000 of securities practically uninjured.

Perhaps an even better plan for those who own large quantities of bonds and stocks is to place them with the trust department of a reliable trust company, which will not only attend to their safe keeping but will clip

coupons when due and credit the proceeds and remit on order, collect dividends and watch for bonds which may be called in, which latter the individual investor often fails to do. If securities are lost or destroyed it is necessary at once to notify the corporation, and the banker from whom they were purchased. The procedure which follows before the owner can get a new certificate varies with different corporations and in different States. Often an indemnity bond has to be furnished. Rarely does the owner fail to secure a new certificate, but he often must first go to endless trouble and even to law. Obviously the careful, sensible investor will not get himself into such a fix. He will place his securities where they cannot be lost or destroyed.

This is the season when many of the colleges and universities publish their annual treasurers' reports. The best possible education for the individual investor is to read a copy of such a report for, say, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, or Amherst. It will teach him more common sense than a dozen books on finance or twenty lectures. Most universities or colleges earn slightly under 5 per cent. on their investments. On \$13,000,000 Yale earned 4.97 per cent. last year. It is apparent that these big investors are not greedy. The most notable thing about these investments, however, is their wide distribution. One college has upward of 200 different securities. This is complete insurance against loss. It is to be noted also that while Yale

and other universities buy stocks their purchases of bonds and mortgages are from twice to three times that of stocks. This is a proportion which the individual might do well to follow.

Like every other good citizen the investor must rejoice in prosperity made certain by ample harvests and the ending of election controversies.

George B. Caldwell, vice-president of the Continental & Commercial Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago and president of the Investment Bankers' Association, is quoted as saying that, unless all signs fail, the coming period of prosperity "will not be the inflated kind based on speculation, watered stocks, over-extension of credits and bold adventures." Let us pray that he is right. But the fact must be faced that nearly all periods of great prosperity have been marked by new fashions in finance. New flotations of every conceivable nature are put out when optimism is the order of the day, and at such times the investor is supposed to be "easy." After all, the tried and established securities are best. Let the other fellow take the new ones. As the years pass conservatism tends to increase in corporation finance. For example the bond issues on newer combinations of public utility companies are better protected in many ways than was the case with many earlier combinations. But it is still true that time is a great solvent for investments as well as for physical objects and human character. New enterprises must win their spurs.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 407. SAVINGS BANK PROTECTION

I have read that the Savings Bank laws of New York offer more protection to depositors than those of any other State except Massachusetts. Would you kindly tell me whether there is any appreciable difference in the protection given depositors in such States as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Washington and the District of Columbia.

Your question may be answered by considering the banking laws of the several states from two points of view: first, as to the type of savings institutions which they contemplate; second, as to the extent of the latitude given to the institutions in investing the funds deposited with them. As in New York and Massachusetts, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey laws contemplate the incorporation only of "mutual" savings banks—that is, banks without capital stock, organized for the mutual benefit of the depositors, and managed wholly in their interests, rather in the interests of a body of stockholders like other forms of business enterprise. In none of these four States can a savings bank get a license to do business until it has been shown to the satisfaction of some state

official or board, such as the Superintendent of Banks in New York, the Commissioner of Banking in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the Board of Bank Incorporation in Massachusetts, that (to use the language of the New Jersey statute) "greater convenience of access to a savings bank will be afforded to a considerable number of people; that the density of population in the neighborhood will afford it (the bank) support, and that the incorporators are fit."

Neither in the State of Washington, nor in the District of Columbia do the laws contemplate the organization of this type of savings institution. It seems clear that in both places, savings banks may be, and generally are, joint stock banks, and that institutions may be incorporated to carry on both a savings and a commercial banking business. In Washington, the law specifically provides that, when both classes of business are carried on by the same bank, separate books of account must be provided for each. In the District of Columbia, the law seems to be silent on this point, but it

may be presumed that, inasmuch as all banks there are under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency, the same wise provision is uniformly made on the authority of that Federal official.

Trustees of the savings banks in New York and Massachusetts have the least latitude in the manner in which they may invest the funds of their institutions. In this respect, the provisions of the laws of the two states differ but little. Likewise, the laws of New Jersey and Pennsylvania are practically the same in this respect. For purposes of comparison let us take, then, the general sections of the New York and New Jersey laws, which define the kinds of railroad bonds in which the banks' funds may be invested. The New York law reads:

"The trustees of any savings bank may invest the moneys deposited therein, and the income derived therefrom, only in . . . the mortgage bonds of any railroad corporation incorporated under the laws of any of the United States, which actually owns in fee not less than five hundred miles of standard gauge railway exclusive of sidings, within the United States, provided that at no time within five years next preceding the date of any such investment such railroad corporation shall have failed regularly and punctually to pay the matured principal and interest of all its mortgage indebtedness and in addition thereto regularly and punctually to have paid in dividends to its stockholders during each of said five years an amount at least equal to four per cent. upon all its outstanding capital stock; and provided further that during said five years the gross earnings in each year from the operations of said company, including therein the gross earnings of all railroads leased and operated or controlled and operated by said company, and also including in said earnings the amount received directly or indirectly by the said company from the sale of coal from mines owned or controlled by it, shall not have been less in amount than five times the amount necessary to pay the interest payable during that year upon its entire outstanding indebtedness, and the rentals for said year of all leased lines, and further provided that all bonds authorized for investment by this paragraph shall be secured by a mortgage which is at the time of making said investment or was at the date of the execution of said mortgage, (1) a first mortgage upon not less than seventy-five per cent. of the railway owned in fee by the company issuing said bonds, exclusive of sidings, at the date of said mortgage, or (2) a refunding mortgage issued to retire all prior lien mortgage debt of said company outstanding at the time of said investment, and covering at least seventy-five per cent. of the railway owned in fee by said company, at the date of said mortgage. But no one of the bonds so secured shall be a legal investment in case the mortgage securing the same shall authorize a total issue of bonds which, together with all outstanding prior debt of said company, after deducting therefrom in case of a refunding mortgage the bonds reserved under the provisions of said mortgage to retire prior debts at maturity, shall exceed three times the outstanding capital stock of said company at the time of making said investment, and no mortgage is to be regarded as a refunding mortgage under the provisions of this paragraph, unless the bonds which it secures mature at a later date than any bond which it is given to refund; nor unless it covers a mileage at

least twenty-five per cent. greater than is covered by any one of the prior mortgages so to be refunded."

The New Jersey law reads:

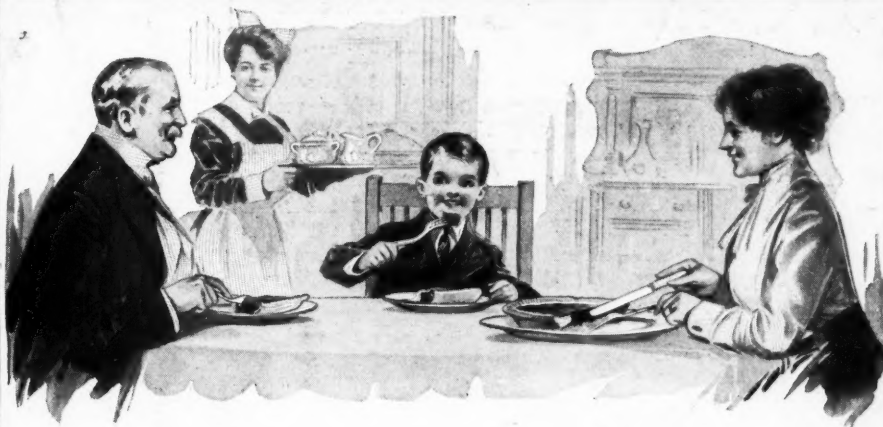
"No savings bank shall invest the moneys deposited with the same . . . except . . . in the first mortgage bonds of any railroad company, which has paid dividends of not less than four per cent. per annum regularly on its entire capital stock for a period of not less than five years next previous to the purchase of said bonds, or in any consolidated mortgage bonds of any such company authorized to be issued to retire the entire bonded debt of such company."

No "Philadelphia lawyer" is needed to tell which of these two statutes provides the more careful regulation. In Washington and the District of Columbia, however, the manner of investing savings bank funds seems to be left entirely to the discretion of the institutions' directors. Nor does it not appear that the banks of either of these places, which simply have savings "departments," are strictly required, as they should be, to invest their savings deposits differently from their business deposits, and forbidden to use such investments for any other purpose.

NO. 408. BALANCE SHEETS

I take the liberty of asking your opinion relative to the enclosed financial statement of a real estate concern, in which I am a stockholder.

Almost any financial statement of a concern of this kind, issued in the form of a balance sheet, is practically meaningless on its face. As a matter of fact, there is really only one kind of a balance sheet that conveys any definite idea of the issuing concern's financial condition, and that is the balance sheet of a bank, in which questionable items, such as overvaluations of property, and so on, find no place, and which on that account always show liabilities covered by nothing else but tangible assets. In most all other cases, balance sheets are of little value, except as *comparative* statements; that is, only as it is possible to set the balance sheet of one year over against the balance sheet of the preceding year, noting whatever changes there may be in the various items, and seeking explanations for them. Take the particular statement in hand. We have no means of knowing the significance of the all-important item of real estate, whose "book value" is set down at over a half million dollars. "Book value," as the name implies, is merely the value of the asset as carried on the books of the corporation. The concern might, for example, have purchased, let us say, \$50,000 worth of real estate, set a "prospective" value of \$500,000 upon it, and sold securities against it on that basis. We don't know that the company in question indulged in such a practice; but we do know that the practice is one which has been indulged in by a good many real estate concerns. In the absence of strictly accurate information about this item of assets, it naturally follows that there is no means of telling how much underlying security there is for the company's stock. In other words, there is no means of telling whether it represents to its full extent actual, tangible values, or whether it represents in large measure merely a capitalization of the hopes of the company's promoters and officers. Needless to say, there are no grounds on which the stock could be discussed as an investment.



How did you make this pie so delicious?

"Why it was easy enough. I tried the new way that I found in my Libby's recipe booklet. Here it is—"

Pumpkin Pie: $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups cooked and strained pumpkin, 2 eggs, $\frac{3}{4}$ cup sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ cup molasses, $\frac{1}{2}$ tablespoonful cinnamon, $\frac{1}{2}$ tablespoonful ginger, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoonful salt, 1 cup ($\frac{1}{2}$ can) Libby's Evaporated Milk, with 1 cupful water. Mix pumpkin, molasses, sugar and spices together. Add the mixed milk and water, then add the eggs thoroughly beaten. Mix well and put into deep pie tins lined with pastry. Bake 45 minutes in moderate oven.

Libby's Evaporated Milk

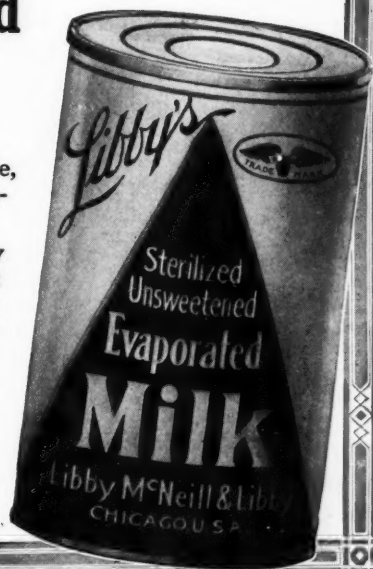
For pies and all baking, for soups, coffee, tea or cocoa Libby's milk gives an added richness and a delicious flavor.

Libby's milk is evaporated in clean, sanitary condenseries, located in the heart of the greatest dairy regions in the world. It is always pure and when open will keep sweet longer than raw milk.

Buy Libby's milk for convenience and satisfaction. It's the brand you can trust.

Send for a copy of *Libby's Milk Recipe Booklet*

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